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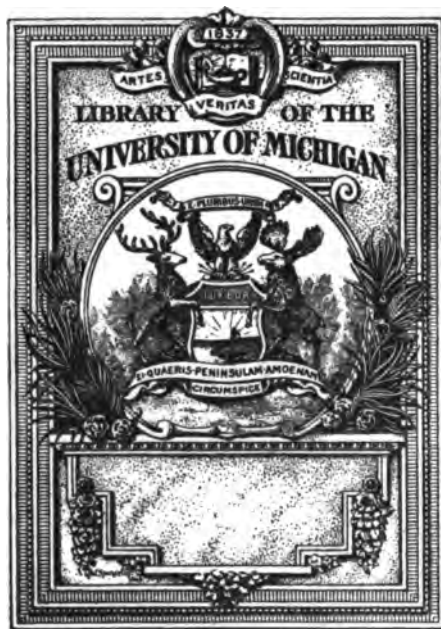
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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
FOR THE YEAR  
1908-1909**



**PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
FOR  
THE YEAR 1908-1909**

**VOLUME II**

**EDITED BY  
BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH  
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA**



**THE TORCH PRESS  
CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA  
1910**



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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

This volume of the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association* covers the transactions of the Association from the close of the first annual meeting in 1908 to the close of the second annual meeting in 1909. During this period two meetings of the Association were held — one at Richmond, Virginia, on December 30, 1908, and the other at St. Louis, Missouri, on June 17, 18, and 19, 1909. The Richmond meeting was the regular December meeting, held in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The St. Louis meeting was the second annual meeting of the Association. Papers and addresses delivered at these two meetings are included in this volume.

Acknowledgments of assistance received in the preparation of these pages for publication are due to the same persons and in the same measure as in the preceding volume of this series. That is to say, to Mr. Clarence S. Paine, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Association, the editor is indebted for much assistance in collecting materials. In preparing the copy for the printers and also in reading the proofs Dr. John C. Parish, Assistant Editor in The State Historical Society of Iowa, rendered valuable aid and counsel. The index is the work of Mr. Dan E. Clark, Research Assistant in The State Historical Society of Iowa.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA  
IOWA CITY, IOWA



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# CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## I — NAME

The name of this organization shall be The Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

## II — OBJECT

The object of the Association shall be to promote historical study and research and to secure coopération between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi Valley.

## III — MEMBERSHIP

Any one interested in the study of Mississippi Valley history may become an active member upon payment of the dues hereinafter provided.

## IV — OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall be a President, a Vice President, and a Secretary-Treasurer, who with two other active members, and such ex-Presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee. All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting in June, and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified. The Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association, including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read.

## V — MEETINGS

Regular meetings of the Association shall be held in the months of June and December of each year, on such day and at such place as the Executive Committee may

## 10 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

determine; provided, however, that the December meeting shall be held at the same time and place as the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

### VI — DUES

The annual dues for active members shall be one dollar.

### VII — AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at a previous meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Committee.

OFFICERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR  
THE YEAR 1908-1909

PRESIDENT

CLARENCE W. ALVORD, PH. D.  
*Associate Professor, University of Illinois*

VICE PRESIDENT

ORIN G. LIBBY, PH. D.  
*Secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*

SECRETARY-TREASURER

CLARENCE S. PAINE  
*Secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In addition to above named officers

(EX-PRESIDENTS)

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON, LL. B.  
*Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri*

THOMAS M. OWEN, A. M., LL. D.  
*Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State  
of Alabama*

(ELECTED)

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH, A. M., PH. D.  
*Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa*

DUNBAR ROWLAND, LL. D.  
*Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State  
of Mississippi*





**THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
1908-1909**



THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
1908-1909

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DECEMBER MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION  
(Richmond, Virginia, December 30, 1908)

REGULAR SESSION

The December meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Richmond, Virginia, in accordance with the constitutional provision that this meeting shall be held at the same time and place as the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The session was held on December 30, 1908, in the Hall of the House of Delegates, Capitol Building. Mr. C. E. Carter of Illinois College presented a paper on *Trade Conditions in Illinois 1765-1768*. A paper on *The North Carolina Cession of 1784 in its Federal Aspects* was read by Mr. St. George L. Sioussat of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee. Mr. Harlow Lindley of Earlham College, Earlham, Indiana, presented a paper on *William Clark — the Indian Agent*. And Mr. F. H. Garver of Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa, told *The Story of Sergeant Charles Floyd*.

SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, December 30, 1908)

The following persons were present at this session of the Executive Committee: Clarence W. Alvord, Thomas M. Owen, Dunbar Rowland, C. S. Paine, and George W. Martin.

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On motion of Mr. Owen the question of the time and place for the regular annual meeting of the Association was referred to the President and Secretary-Treasurer with power.

On motion of Mr. Rowland the President and Secretary-Treasurer were authorized to confer with friends of the Association regarding the creation of a publication fund.

On motion of Mr. Owen the President, Secretary-Treasurer, and Mr. Rowland were constituted a committee of three on publication of collections. After some informal discussion the meeting adjourned.

### SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

(St. Louis, Missouri, June 17, 18, and 19, 1909)

#### FIRST SESSION

The first session of the second annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at the Cabanne Branch Library in St. Louis on Thursday evening, June 17, 1909. The meeting was called to order by Judge Walter B. Douglas, Vice President of the Missouri Historical Society. In the absence of Governor Herbert S. Hadley, Judge Douglas cordially welcomed the members of the Association to the city of St. Louis. He then introduced Mr. Orin G. Libby, Vice President of the Association, who responded with a brief address in which he outlined the plans and purposes of the organization and emphasized especially the great need of coöperation among the various historical agencies of the Mississippi Valley. The principal paper of the evening, which was on *The Conservation of the Natural Resources of the Mississippi Valley*, was read by Hon. Ernest M. Pollard of Nehawka, Nebraska.

#### SECOND SESSION

The second session opened on Friday, June 18, at 9

A. M., in the rooms of the Missouri Historical Society. Mr. Libby presided. The first topic on the program for this session was *The Mississippi Valley as an Ethnological Field*. Mr. James Mooney of the Bureau of American Ethnology spoke on the *Upper Mississippi Region*, and was followed by Mr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology, whose paper was devoted chiefly to the *Lower Mississippi Region*. The discussion which followed the reading of these papers was participated in by James N. Baskett, William F. Woerner, and others. *Physiography as Related to History in the Mississippi Valley* was the subject of an interesting and valuable address by Mr. Curtis Fletcher Marbut of the University of Missouri. Mr. William F. Woerner of St. Louis was then introduced to read the paper by Mr. Edward A. Ross on *The Study of the Present as an Aid to the Interpretation of the Past*. The discussion of this paper, which was led by Mr. Woerner, concluded the second session.

#### THIRD SESSION

The third session, which was held on Friday afternoon in the rooms of the Missouri Historical Society, was a conference of historical societies, presided over by Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, Acting Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa. After Mr. Harlan had outlined the purpose of the conference, Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh of The State Historical Society of Iowa was called upon to discuss the subject of *Applied History*. This address was followed by a general discussion, led by Mr. William A. Meese of Moline, Illinois. Mr. John Hugh Reynolds of Fayetteville, Arkansas, was next introduced to discuss *Recent Historical Legislation in Arkansas*. Mr. Frederick W. Shipley of Washington University, who was to have presented a paper on *Plans of the Archaeological Institute of America for Work in America*, was unavoidably absent and his place on the program was taken by

## 18 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Mr. George Julian Zolnay, who read a paper on *Sculpture as a Factor in History*. Mr. William A. Meese then offered a paper on *Marking Historic Sites in Illinois*. The conference was closed with a paper on the *Relation of State and Historical Libraries*, by Mr. Francis A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

After some informal remarks by the Rev. G. W. Cunningham of St. Louis, the meeting adjourned to permit the members to visit University City as the guests of Mr. E. G. Lewis. Returning from University City, a brief stop was made at the St. Louis University, where, through the courtesy of President John P. Frieden, the members of the Association were permitted to view the famous Kaskaskia Records.

At 6 P. M. the members met for dinner at the Planters Hotel. After dinner Vice President Libby, as toastmaster, introduced Mr. E. M. Pollard, Mr. James Mooney, and others, who spoke happily of various phases of the work of the Association. Adjournment being taken to the parlors of the hotel, the remainder of the evening was spent in social intercourse.

### FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session began at 9 A. M. on Saturday, June 19, with Mr. Libby in the chair. The first paper on the program was a study of *Early Banking in Kentucky*, by Mr. Elmer Cummings Griffith of William Jewell College. A paper by Mr. William H. Holmes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, entitled *Remarks on the Study of Aboriginal American History*, was read by Mr. James Mooney on account of the unavoidable absence of Mr. Holmes. *The First Election of United States Senators in Iowa* was the subject of a paper by Mr. Dan Elbert Clark of The State Historical Society of Iowa. A paper by Mr. Frank Heywood Hodder on *The Second*

*Missouri Compromise* was not read owing to the absence of Mr. Hodder.

After a recess of five minutes the meeting was called to order for the transaction of business. The minutes of the last annual meeting and of two meetings of the Executive Committee were read by the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer then presented his second annual report, which was accepted and ordered placed on file. After some discussion, participated in by Mr. Shambaugh, Mr. Harlan, Mr. Reynolds, and the Secretary-Treasurer, that part of the report of the Secretary-Treasurer recommending a plan of publication was approved. The Executive Committee was empowered to name a board of publication to consist of one member from each State in the Mississippi Valley, and the said board was authorized to proceed to work out the details of the proposed plan. The Secretary-Treasurer then presented his financial report, which was referred to an auditing committee composed of Mr. J. A. James, Mr. J. H. Reynolds and Mr. Dan Elbert Clark.

A committee on nominations consisting of Edgar R. Harlan, Francis A. Sampson, and Clarence S. Paine was appointed by the Chair. After some further discussion concerning the publication of the *Proceedings* of the Association the matter was referred to the Executive Committee with power.

#### FIFTH SESSION

The fifth and final session of the second annual meeting of the Association was opened at 2 p. m. on Saturday, June 19, with the report of the auditing committee. Mr. James reported for the committee that the accounts and vouchers of the Secretary-Treasurer had been checked over and found to be correct. The report of the committee was adopted, and the financial report of the Secretary-Treasurer was approved. Mr. Shambaugh, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following:



## 20 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Committee on Resolutions recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That the Mississippi Valley Historical Association express its appreciation of the generous hospitality of the Missouri Historical Society. We appreciate the interest taken in the meeting by Miss Idress Head and regret that sickness has prevented her from attending the sessions.

2. Resolved, That a vote of thanks be extended to Mr. E. G. Lewis for his kindness in affording the members of the Association an opportunity to visit University City.

3. Resolved, That a vote of thanks be extended to President John P. Frieden, S. J., for his kind invitation to visit the St. Louis University and examine the Kaskaskia Records.

4. Resolved, That a vote of thanks be extended to Hon. E. M. Pollard for the interest which he has taken in the Association and for his address on the *Conservation of the Natural Resources of the Mississippi Valley*.

5. Resolved, That a vote of thanks be extended to Mr. James Mooney, Mr. John R. Swanton, and Mr. Wm. H. Holmes, and through them to the Bureau of American Ethnology, for the excellent ethnological discussions presented at this meeting.

✓ 6. Resolved, That the Mississippi Valley Historical Association express hearty approval of the policy of marking historic sites; that this policy be commended to the historical societies throughout the Mississippi Valley; and that the attention of the Congress of the United States be called to the propriety of providing for the erection of a monument to La Salle at the mouth of the Mississippi River and a monument to Marquette and Joliet at the mouth of the Wisconsin River.

7. Resolved, That the Association express its appreciation of the generosity of the press in giving publicity to the proceedings of this meeting.

8. Resolved, That the Association express hearty approval of the plans of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the publication of hand-books on the ethnological history of the States.

Mr. J. A. James was appointed a committee of one to draft appropriate resolutions upon the death of Mr.

Charles W. Mann; and such resolutions were ordered spread upon the records and a copy thereof transmitted to the family of the deceased.

Mr. Harlan, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, reported in favor of the election of the following persons: For President, Mr. Orin G. Libby; for Vice President, Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh; for Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Clarence S. Paine; for additional members of the Executive Committee, Mr. Dunbar Rowland and Mr. Charles E. Brown. The report as submitted was adopted, and the officers named therein were declared elected.

The Secretary-Treasurer then presented an invitation from the city of Lincoln, Nebraska, to hold the next annual meeting of the Association at that city. Mr. Shambaugh presented an invitation from The State Historical Society of Iowa; and a similar invitation was received from Des Moines through Mr. Harlan. The thanks of the Association were extended to the various municipalities, institutions, and societies extending such invitations, which were referred to the Executive Committee with power.

✓ The President was authorized and empowered to appoint a committee of five or more members on historic sites. The regular program was then resumed.

The first paper presented was *The Significance of the British Attack on St. Louis, 1780*, by Mr. James Alton James of Northwestern University. This was followed by an informal discussion on *Did Coronado Reach the Missouri River or Enter the State of Missouri*, by Mr. James Newton Baskett of Mexico, Missouri. On account of the desire of the members of the Association to visit Monks Mound, the paper by Mr. Roland G. Usher of Washington University on *The Western Sanitary Commission* was omitted, Mr. Usher not being present. *Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley* was

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## 22 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

the subject of a paper presented by Mr. William O. Scroggs of the Louisiana State University, after the reading of which the meeting adjourned.

### A RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, The cause of education in the Middle West has suffered through the death of our esteemed friend, Charles W. Mann, Professor of History in Lewis Institute, the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association desire to place on record this notice of our loss and convey to his family our sympathy.

**REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER**  
(June, 1909)



## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(June, 1909)

The first annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Lake Minnetonka, Minnesota, on June 22 and 23, 1908. Members of the Association were present from eleven States. The first session was called to order at 9:30 A. M. on June 22, by the Vice President, Mr. C. W. Alvord. *The Explorations of Verendrye and his Sons* was the subject of a paper presented by Mr. Warren Upham, Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society. The next paper was by Mr. Orin G. Libby, Professor of History, in the University of North Dakota, on *The Mandans from the Archaeological and Historical Standpoint*. A paper on *The British Board of Trade and the American Colonies* was read by Mr. Oliver M. Dickerson, Professor of History, in the Western State Normal School of Illinois. Mr. Albert Watkins of Lincoln, Nebraska, who was to have presented a paper on *The Nebraska Country*, was not present; and so this number was omitted from the program.

The second session, which was called to order at 2:30 P. M. on June 22, was devoted to informal conferences. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit, Michigan, the discussion on *The Relation of State and Local Historical Societies* was led by Mr. George W. Martin, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. He was followed by Mr. Francis A. Sampson of the State Historical Society of Missouri and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber of the Illinois Historical Library. The paper by the late Charles W. Mann of Chicago, on the subject of *Coöperation among Histori-*



*cal Agencies and Activities of the Mississippi Valley*, was read by Mr. Doane Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota. This paper was followed by a general discussion led by Mr. Orin G. Libby of the University of North Dakota and Mr. Edgar B. Harlan of the Historical Department of Iowa.

At the third session on Monday evening, June 22, two papers were read; the first was on *The Study and Writing of History in the Mississippi Valley*, by Mr. Clarence W. Alvord of Urbana, Illinois, and the second was on *Amana: The Home of the Community of True Inspiration*, by Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh of Iowa City.

The fourth session was opened with an informal address by Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites on *The Story of Draper's Activities as a Collector*. This was followed by a paper on *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Augustus Caesar Dodge*, presented by Mr. Louis Pelzer of Iowa City. Mr. Jonas Viles of Columbia, Missouri, who was to have presented a paper on *Slavery as a Factor in Missouri History* was unable to be present. A paper by Mr. Laurence M. Larson of Urbana, Illinois, on *The Sectional Elements in the Early History of Milwaukee* was read by Minnie P. Knotts of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

The fifth session, which was held on Tuesday afternoon, June 23, was devoted entirely to the business of the Association. The session was opened with the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, which showed that the first membership fee was received December 31, 1907, and that eighty members had been enrolled up to and including June 22, 1908. Seventeen States were represented on the membership roll. The Executive Committee had held but one meeting — on December 30, 1907, immediately after the formal organization of the Association. The financial statement showed receipts of \$80 from mem-

bership fees, and expenditures for printing and postage of \$76.69, leaving a balance of \$3.31 in the treasury.

Immediately after the adjournment of the business session a meeting of the newly elected Executive Committee was held. At this meeting the President was authorized to proceed with the preparation of a program for the meeting to be held at Richmond, Virginia, in December. Two sessions of the Executive Committee were held at Lake Minnetonka, Minnesota, on June 23, 1908. The next meeting of the Executive Committee was on December 30, at Richmond, Virginia, and no meeting of the committee has been held since that time, although the members have kept in close touch by correspondence.

The December meeting of the Association was held at Richmond, Virginia, in accordance with the constitutional provision that this meeting shall be held at the same time and place as the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. This session was held on December 30, 1908, in the Hall of the House of Delegates, Capitol Building. There were presented a number of papers of importance to the study of the history of the Mississippi Valley. Mr. C. E. Carter, Instructor in Illinois College, Jacksonville, presented the first paper which was on *Trade Conditions in Illinois 1765-1768*. A paper on *The North Carolina Cession of 1784 in its Federal Aspects* was read by Mr. St. George L. Sioussat, Professor of History in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee. Mr. Harlow Lindley, Professor of History in Earlham College, Earlham, Indiana, followed with a paper on *William Clark — the Indian Agent*; and Mr. F. H. Garver, Professor of History and Political Science in Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa, told *The Story of Sergeant Charles Floyd*.

The papers were of a very high order and the session an interesting and profitable one; but owing to a misun-

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derstanding as to the place of meeting the attendance was not large.

In planning for these meetings it has been the design to call together active workers from all the States and from the various institutions interested in the study or teaching of history in the Mississippi Valley, to discuss the problems of common interest, and to consider the different phases of the historical work that is being done in various parts of the territory.

The growth of the Association has been marked and satisfactory, when it is considered that the officers have had little time to give to the work and that the only source of income is from the annual dues. There are now two hundred and ninety-three members, living in thirty-eight States and in Canada. Illinois leads with fifty-five. Nebraska has twenty-nine, while Iowa follows closely with twenty-six. These two hundred and ninety-three members represent sixty-five libraries, fifty-five colleges and universities, and thirty-nine historical societies and organizations for historical research. A large number of the members are teachers of history or librarians, while many others are professional or business men who have a lively interest in the history of the West.

There is now due and remaining unpaid on membership fees for 1908, \$71. Twenty-four members have paid to July 1, 1910, and one has paid to 1912. The total receipts on membership fees for 1909 from members now enrolled should not be less than \$251. We ought to be able to bring the total number of members up to 500 before the next annual meeting, in which case the receipts would be sufficient to cover the expenses of the office and the printing of the *Proceedings*. The publication of the *Proceedings* will stimulate interest in the Association and will result in adding many new members to the roll.

It has been well said that "Publication is the life of an Historical Association," and the great problem now

confronting this organization is that of providing some means whereby the results of its work may be made known. At the last annual meeting your Secretary was authorized to secure the publication of the *Proceedings*, providing that no indebtedness was incurred in so doing. Arrangements were immediately made to finance this proposition and the first number of the *Proceedings* will be printed as soon as copy is received from the editor. It was realized, however, that the publication of the *Proceedings* would not answer every need, and the Executive Committee was instructed to devise a plan for the publication of a Mississippi Valley series of *Collections*. The Executive Committee in turn referred this question to a sub-committee composed of the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and Mr. Rowland. The members of this sub-committee have since had no opportunity for personal conference, but they are agreed that the publication of a quarterly, as has been suggested, is not feasible. However, it is thought possible to devise some plan for the publication of an annual volume of *Collections*.

The amount of material to be published on western history is generally underestimated. State and local societies are only doing enough to emphasize the need of united effort along this line. It is argued by some that this Association is too young to assume the responsibility involved in undertaking the publication of a series of *Collections*. There is, however, one consideration that outweighs this objection. An Association dies from inaction and grows strong by assuming reasonable responsibilities. If this Association is going to amount to anything — and it is — it must take on responsibilities. The holding of annual or semi-annual meetings for the purpose of reading papers is not in itself a sufficient object for an Association. Important as are these meetings, they are not adequate to command and hold the

attention and support of the leaders in thought and action.

If this Association has a mission and undertakes boldly and aggressively the work that lies at hand it will have the confidence and patronage of those persons who would naturally be interested in its success.

It is, therefore, recommended that there be created a board of publication, composed of one representative from each State in the Valley; that it be the business of this board to raise a permanent publication fund sufficient to defray the entire expense of publishing one volume, such volume to be furnished to members of the Association at cost, and sold to libraries and to individuals at a price to be fixed by the board of publication. This board should have full authority in all matters pertaining to the publication of the *Collections*. Each member should be made responsible for the raising of his pro rata share of the publication fund. The proceeds of the sale of the first volume should be enough to cover the cost, and leave a small margin of profit. Indeed, if the business end is wisely handled it ought to be possible in time to reimburse the donors to the original fund.

If the members of this publishing board should so elect, it is not only possible but probable that by their united efforts they could find an individual who would be willing to donate an amount ample to provide for this fund, the same to be named in honor of the donor. Indeed, it is believed that such an individual has already been found, but it has so far been considered unwise to accept money from this particular source. In any event, the former plan would be the better, and would create a more widespread interest in the undertaking.

Another matter that might profitably engage the attention of the Association is that of inducing some interested person to encourage research work in western history by the offering of a prize under some such condi-

tions as govern the Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association.

Other propositions might be advanced, which would tend to stimulate interest in the work of the Association, but it will be better to proceed cautiously that no backward step need be taken.

Respectfully submitted,

C. S. PAINE, Secretary-Treasurer

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

*Receipts*

Cash receipts from membership fees to July 1, 1909, as per list attached and made part of this report . . . . . \$184.00

*Disbursements*

Disbursements to July 1, 1909, as per vouchers attached and made part of this report:

Printing and stationery . . . . .	\$116.05
Postage . . . . .	66.00
Clerical work . . . . .	53.00
Miscellaneous items . . . . .	14.29

Total disbursements . . . . .	\$249.34
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Balance on hand June 25, 1908 . . . . .	\$ 3.31
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Receipts during year . . . . .	184.00
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Total receipts . . . . .	\$187.31
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Total excess of expenditures over receipts . . . . .	\$ 62.03
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Respectfully submitted,

C. S. PAINE, Secretary-Treasurer

The above is approved

J. A. JAMES

J. H. REYNOLDS

DAN E. CLARK

} Auditing Committee



**PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE  
DECEMBER MEETING OF THE MISSIS-  
SIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION**

**(Richmond, Virginia, December 30, 1908)**





## TRADE CONDITIONS IN ILLINOIS 1765-1768

BY CLARENCE E. CARTER

[In view of the fact that Mr. Carter's paper on *Trade Conditions in Illinois 1765-1768* will appear as one of the chapters of a monograph which, having been awarded the Justin Winsor Prize for 1908, will be published by the American Historical Association, it is omitted from this volume.]

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## THE NORTH CAROLINA CESSION OF 1784 IN ITS FEDERAL ASPECTS

BY ST. GEORGE LEAKIN SIOUSSAT

(The writer desires to make acknowledgement of assistance received from the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the preparation of this paper.)

This paper treats of a certain phase of the Westward Movement—the years after the American Revolution, when settlers were crossing from the coastal plain of the Atlantic into the valleys drained by the tributaries of the Great River. Of this movement a characteristic and important expression appeared in the building of the Commonwealth of Tennessee; and in the evolution of Tennessee to Statehood the incident which, perhaps, has attracted most attention was that experiment which bore the name of the State of Franklin.

The history of Franklin has been the subject of much careful investigation. The events which took place under the leadership of John Sevier and his associates—the quarreling with the mother State of North Carolina, the Indian troubles, the relation of Franklin as a part of the Trans-Alleghany region to the foreign affairs of the United States, and especially the constitutional

development of this transitory body politic — have been more or less exhaustively narrated in several well known works.<sup>1</sup> But as to the circumstances that existed in North Carolina at the time of the Franklin movement, as to the economic relation of the new commonwealth to the parent State, and, again, as to the connection between these factors and the government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, it has seemed, at least to the writer, that the older accounts were in some degree unsatisfactory. Hence he has attempted an examination of the sources recently made available, particularly the later volumes of the North Carolina archives, and has embodied the results in the following pages.

It will be advisable first to outline briefly the political and economic condition of North Carolina at the close of the Revolutionary War; second, to sketch the procedure of the government of the United States under the Articles in relation to certain important governmental measures; and third, to discuss at greater length the relations between the States and the Confederation as to these same measures. In this way we shall be led to the economic foundations of Franklin and the politics, State and Federal, which lay behind the acts of 1784 by which North Carolina first ceded to the United States her western territory and then withdrew her cession.

The work which the British had failed to do in their blows at the center had been attempted again in the southern provinces, with expectations of greater success. The reasons which had led to the transfer of the theatre

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<sup>1</sup> Haywood's *The Civil and Political History of Tennessee* (Reprint of 1891), Ch. 6; Ramsey's *The Annals of Tennessee*, Chs. 4, 5; Phelan's *History of Tennessee*, Chs. 9-12; Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, Part IV, Ch. 4; Turner's *Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. I, pp. 70-87, 251-269; Alden's *The State of Franklin*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, pp. 271-289; and Caldwell's *Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee* (Second edition, 1907), Ch. 3.

of war were apparently justified in the taking of the southern coast-towns and in the bitter civil war which the presence of so many loyalists aroused. When hostilities were concluded, it was a broken South that remained. The foundation of the social order had been shaken by the withdrawal of many who had chosen the wrong side. There was much lawlessness and violence; the Indians were a source of anxiety; and above all was the burden of public debt which hung oppressively over a scattered and predominantly rural population. This was especially illustrated in North Carolina. Notwithstanding some attempts at taxation, throughout the period of warfare the State depended chiefly on issues of paper money which ran through a fearful and rapid course of depreciation, the story of which has been told in detail, if somewhat unsympathetically, by Professor Bullock.<sup>2</sup> But in addition to financial disaster other evils rapidly developed. McRee, in his *Life of Iredell*<sup>3</sup> comments upon the violence of the partisan politics that marked the return of peace, attributing the heat of this partisanship to the reappearance of the men of thought who had so long been eclipsed by the men of action. Many Tories came back to gather what they could of their broken fortunes, ruined not only by war but by excessively confiscatory legislation. Litigation thus stirred up fostered cupidity and avarice; and speculation, especially in lands, ran riot.<sup>4</sup> As to the government, a picture in miniature is given in 1783 when the executive in the person of Governor Martin sharply lectured the Assembly and commenting on the hurried legislation that had been passed, said: "I need scarce mention that a general reform is wanting in almost all the offices of State at this

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<sup>2</sup> Bullock's *Essays on the Monetary History of the United States*, pp. 184-204.

<sup>3</sup> McRee's *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, Vol. II, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> McRee's *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, Vol. II, p. 81.

crisis. Neglect of duty, abuse of power, disobedience of laws, your monies unaccounted for, and public credit almost sunk, all call for your authority and correction.”<sup>5</sup>

From this rather depressing picture of the internal affairs of North Carolina let us now turn to the government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, in the years from 1781 to 1784. That government, if not outwardly divided or confused, was sufficiently ineffective; and of all manifestations of this, the lack of financial control was the most evident. Of the efforts of Morris and Hamilton to remedy the loss of credit which threatened to vitiate if not entirely to wreck the work of the Revolution all our histories of the period are full. Very closely related to this was that which President Welling in a suggestive though incomplete study called “The States’-Rights Conflict over the Public Lands.”<sup>6</sup> Out of the many ramifications of these two questions, some, such as those of international interest, must be omitted, and we shall take up only those essential to the purpose in hand. These may be outlined as follows:—

First, apart from the issue of paper money and the negotiation of loans, the provisions of the Articles of Confederation permitted Congress to obtain a Federal revenue from the country at large only by “requisitions” upon the States, by which the States were asked to pay their respective quotas of the expenses of the common government. But it developed that this provision was a failure because the basis of apportionment established by the eighth article of the Articles of Confederation proved unworkable. That article, adopted only after a prolonged debate,<sup>7</sup> provided that the States should pay “in propor-

<sup>5</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XIX, p. 243.

<sup>6</sup> *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. III, pp. 411-432.

<sup>7</sup> The article was adopted October 14, 1777, in the form of an amendment to article 9 as originally draughted. — Ford's *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. IX, pp. 801, 802. The earlier proposal was to rate

tion to the value of all land within each State granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land, and the buildings and improvements thereon, should be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled should establish."

The *Journals* and the *Madison Papers* reveal an irreconcilable difference as to the "mode" which should be adopted. Not all land *claimed* by a State was ratable in assessing the State, but only that *granted to or surveyed for* any person. This was a vague provision, which in 1777 seemed to bear with greater severity on the more densely populated States of the East. It is not surprising that, when the article was adopted, it was by the solid vote of the southern States and New Jersey, while all the New England delegates voted *no* and New York and Pennsylvania were divided.<sup>8</sup> In view of the difficulties which the article presented, Congress early in 1783 "required" an assessment of the value of lands; but difference of opinion as to whether the inquest should be conducted by the Confederation government or left to the States resulted in a resolution which was not effective.<sup>9</sup> In this connection, quaintly observes Madison, "Mr. Dyer ludicrously proposed that each of the States shall cheat equally."<sup>10</sup>

The next proposal in logical order was, therefore, directed to the amendment of Article 8; and it was at

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the States by the gross population. As to the debate over these two plans, see Randolph's *Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. I, pp. 22-25.

<sup>8</sup> Ford's *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. IX, pp. 801-802.

<sup>9</sup> February 17, 1783. — *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, pp. 157-158, 161-164. For the debates on the valuation of lands see Madison's *Debates in the Congress of the Confederation from November 14, 1782, to February 13, 1783*, in Elliot's *Debates*, Vol. V, pp. 21-22, 24-25, 43, 48-51. See also a letter of N. Folsom cited in Ford's *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. IX, p. 947, note 2; and the letter of Hugh Williamson cited below, p. 44.

<sup>10</sup> Elliot's *Debates*, Vol. V, p. 44, note.

length resolved by Congress that population, rather than lands, should be made the basis of apportionment. There was great difficulty in reaching agreement on this point because of the uncertainty as to how far the slaves should be counted a part of the population. The final compromise was the famous rule that three-fifths should be counted for the purpose of assessing the State.<sup>11</sup>

A third related matter of long standing and much debated in Congress concerned the granting to Congress of some power to levy and collect taxes. With this effort is inseparably connected the name of Robert Morris. The first plan of direct importance, that of a five per cent impost, failed after many months of debate through the unalterable opposition of Rhode Island.<sup>12</sup> It was then proposed, and the idea was adopted in Congress, that for twenty-five years Congress should be authorized to levy specific duties on certain articles with five per cent duties on others.<sup>13</sup> In either form the impost would constitute, of course, indirect taxation, and much argument was used to show the shifting of such taxes.

But in the financial history of these years too much stress has been laid on these indirect taxes to the neglect of another source of revenue which Morris had repeatedly

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<sup>11</sup> April 18, 1783. — *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, p. 191. Rhode Island alone voted in the negative. New York was divided. It should be noted that at this stage there was no question of representation involved, as there had been when the article was originally adopted and as there was in the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Consequently it was to the interest of the slave-holding States to have as few negroes counted as possible.

<sup>12</sup> Bancroft's *History of the United States of America* (Edition of 1887), Vol. VI, pp. 33-34; and Bates's *Rhode Island and the Impost of 1781*, in the *Report of the American Historical Association* for 1894, pp. 351-359. Rhode Island's formal refusal was dated November 1, 1782. Congress decided to send commissioners to persuade Rhode Island, but before they had fairly started, news was received that Virginia, under the influence of R. H. Lee, had withdrawn its assent to the impost.

<sup>13</sup> This was also adopted April 18, 1783. — *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, p. 190.

proposed and which was the link connecting taxation with the land.

In the resolutions debated and adopted in the spring of 1783 there was added to the proposal of indirect taxation mentioned above the suggestion that other revenues of such nature as the States might judge most convenient should be provided by the States for supplying their respective proportions of a sum of a million and a half dollars of annual interest.<sup>14</sup> These somewhat mysterious "revenues of such nature as they may judge most convenient" are not further specified in the resolutions passed April 18, 1783; nor is the "Address of Congress" recorded in the *Journals* under date of April 24th much clearer as to the nature of the "supplementary funds" to which it refers.<sup>15</sup> But, as in so many cases, the omitted explanation is of great importance. For some years Morris had been urging the granting of taxes upon polls and upon lands — that is, direct taxes — as well as an excise or internal tax upon spirits. Over these taxes and their incidence there was considerable correspondence and debate;<sup>16</sup> and these are the funds to which the document quoted above refers.

The political significance of these financial measures is to be clearly noted. They had been conceived and urged as a balance to the customs duty, in the knowledge that the commercial States felt that customs duties fell with proximate severity upon themselves, notwithstanding theories of diffusion that might be advanced. Hardly any better illustration of the real existence of this feeling can be cited than a letter which Howell of Rhode Island

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<sup>14</sup> April 18, 1783. — *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, p. 190.

<sup>15</sup> *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, pp. 194-197.

<sup>16</sup> *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, pp. 198-201; and Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, Vol. V, p. 619 ff.; Vol. VI, p. 280 ff.



wrote to the Deputy Governor of the State on the last day of May, 1784, in which he criticised the recent act of Pennsylvania as to the impost which he characterized as "complete" in respect to that tax, but "very deficient on the supplementary funds," and indicated that Pennsylvania did not intend to comply with the whole plan. Another act which he transmitted was that of South Carolina, which was also in regard to the recommendations of April 18, 1783. This was the eighth act of this sort, nothing having yet been heard from North Carolina, Georgia, New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. But only two or three States had passed any acts respecting the "supplementary funds". Howell urged that these were essential to the general plans and had been so recognized by the resolution of Congress which said "That none of the preceding resolutions shall take effect until all of them shall be acceded to by every State".

"I find", continued Howell, "that the supplementary funds are very unpopular this way. The lords of extensive soil are more ready to mortgage to Congress a twentieth part of what enters their ports than a hundredth part of what goes off from their plantations. But will the commercial states suffer the impost to be carried into effect before the supplementary funds are granted? . . . . The very unequal operation of such a partial arrangement must be obvious".

Howell then entered into a discussion of the relation of these two forms of taxation to the foreign and to the domestic debt, showing how this matter would seriously affect Rhode Island. After a comment on the action of Congress as to the western lands he added before closing that there was good news from North Carolina which had just made a cession to Congress. Georgia had not done so and was rumored to be in the throes of land-jobbing.<sup>17</sup>

The Rhode Islanders, then, who went down to the sea

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<sup>17</sup> Staples's *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, p. 515.

in ships, would have none of a customs duty unless land taxes were forthcoming from the landed States. We shall see in a moment the bearing of this upon a landed State — North Carolina.

The last of the Federal measures of which we have here to take account was perhaps the oldest of all. This was the insistence on the part of the "landless" States that States claiming western territory should cede such territory to the United States for the common good. The story is familiar. The importance of the matter is perhaps even now hardly appreciated. The State whose cession was of chief importance was, of course, the State of Virginia, whose claims were imperial in their extent. We shall not here trace the earlier phases of the question; but remembering Maryland's refusal to adopt the Articles, the resolutions of Congress of 1780 on the subject of western cessions, and Virginia's promise of January 2, 1781, we may proceed at once to the spring of 1783 when with the other measures which we have now discussed this also found a place in the resolutions of April 18th already referred to. In regard to all these measures — the alteration of the eighth article of the Articles of Confederation, the granting by the States of supplementary funds, and the pressure on the States to secure cessions of western lands — the attitude of North Carolina is of interest.

In the spring and summer of 1782 there was a period when North Carolina was not represented in Congress. In July, however, Hugh Williamson and William Blount appeared as Delegates. Later came Nash, Hawkins, and Spaight. There was considerable shifting, and by the time of adjournment in the summer of 1784 Williamson and Spaight were the only delegates in attendance.<sup>18</sup> Williamson then left Spaight to serve on the Committee

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<sup>18</sup> Williamson came July 19, 1782, Blount, July 22. — *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, pp. 50-51.

of the States, which sat during that adjournment, and returned to North Carolina.

Following the order already established we shall consider first the amendment of Article 8 — that which proposed to substitute population for lands as the basis for apportionment. On October 22, 1782, while the debate was at its height, Williamson and Blount wrote from Philadelphia to Governor Martin of North Carolina a long letter in which they discussed the matters then before Congress. They pointed out that the full effect of the original provision as to the apportionment, that is, "land granted or surveyed with improvements" had been "avoided" (as they expressed it) on the ground that the enemy was in possession.<sup>19</sup> In other words, only those lands had been counted which were free from British occupation. To this interpretation North Carolina should hold fast. But, they said, when the western lands should be included (peace was now in sight), the situation would not be so favorable, for these western lands would produce little revenue but would increase to nearly double North Carolina's quota of the national debt. Every State would be charged with its *located* lands, and as land jobbers were not a very popular set of men in any country and as the lands would probably be valued by indifferent (that is, impartial) people, North Carolina could be assured that the western lands which were located but not improved would be rated at their full value.<sup>20</sup> From this they proceeded to broach the subject of a *cession* by North Carolina. But to this point we shall return below. Next year (1783) the North Carolina delegates voted for the amendment to Article 8 in its modified form, which substituted population as the basis of apportionment.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Compare Madison's note on the attitude of the Connecticut delegates. — Elliot's *Debates*, Vol. V, p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVI, p. 434 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, p. 191.

Next comes the matter of the supplementary funds. In 1782, Robert Morris wrote to the Governor of North Carolina, as to the other Governors, about his proposed Federal revenues, and stressed especially the project of a specific tax on land, measured by the one hundred acres without regard to value. Morris argued at length to show what a light and equitable tax this would be. Meanwhile the matter came up in Congress; and in the same letter to which we have already referred Williamson and Blount gave their opinion of the scheme. This was distinctly unfavorable. They thought such a tax "insufferably unequal." The vast tracts of sandy barren in North Carolina could never be measured with the same scale as the uniformly fertile lands in some of the northern States. In this case they seem to have looked at this Federal tax as highly oppressive to a State which had large amounts of land which could so be taxed. It is obvious that North Carolina, for example, would pay a much larger tax than Rhode Island or Massachusetts.<sup>22</sup>

From this they passed to the third of our questions, the cession of North Carolina's western lands. After some reflections on the extent of this territory they proceeded to lay down the following definite conditions which in case a cession should be made, they urged upon the North Carolina Assembly:—

I. The whole expense of North Carolina's Indian expeditions should pass to her account in the quota of Continental expenses.

II. The actual valuation of all lands and improvements claimed in any State before the cession should be confirmed.

III. The sundry accounts of North Carolina's officers should be liquidated and the claims of the State

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<sup>22</sup> But as to the impost, North Carolina's jealousy of Virginia, her more powerful commercial neighbor, led her to look with favor upon Federal control. — See Madison's estimate, Elliot's *Debates*, Vol. V, p. 60, note.

established, so that quotas might be fixed of the debt contracted or to be contracted.

IV. The lands so ceded should be disposed of to the best advantage by the consent of at least nine States for payment of the public debts.

V. If any separate State should be erected on any of those lands, part of the public debt should be transferred to such State according to the value of the land it contained.<sup>22</sup>

It is evident that in the minds of those who represented North Carolina's interests at the seat of government financial considerations were uppermost; the State should use its lands as a means to procure credit for all its expenditures and thereby reduce its indebtedness. This was to be the keynote of North Carolina's policy; and even if a separate State should be erected on the land ceded, it should be made to bear its due share of the Revolutionary debt. How this share was to be determined was definitely stated: it was to be on the basis of land value, not on that of population. But such a financial adjustment as this was subject to an additional complication which we have thus far omitted from consideration, and which must form the connecting link with the story of the cession.

The North Carolina delegates were prepared to recommend the cession of the western lands. But how much had North Carolina to give? To think of that State as surrendering a shadowy claim to distant western territory would be a serious error, for not only had settlement crossed the mountains but the State had undertaken to grant titles to land in the transmontane region. These appropriations of land had likewise a financial basis.

In 1783 the State was, indeed, heavily in debt to the Confederation, but the most pressing obligation had been to her own soldiers. Already in 1777 the specula-

<sup>22</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVI, p. 434 ff.

tive fever of the new era had led to the opening of county land offices<sup>24</sup> in which within the three years that they were open vast amounts of land had been entered. While these offices were later closed,<sup>25</sup> land had been given as early as 1780 as an additional bounty to induce service in the war. In that year the State had created a military reservation to be used specifically for satisfying military land warrants, and two hundred acres of land and one prime slave were offered to each soldier in addition to his annual pay.<sup>26</sup> This was raised later to six hundred and forty acres.<sup>27</sup> In the year 1782 an extensive act was passed and in this act the terms of payment by which the soldiers of the North Carolina Line should receive their lands were restated.<sup>28</sup> During the following year, 1783, another reservation was made for these military lands;<sup>29</sup> and at the same session all the lands of the State of North Carolina, with the exception of this territory reserved to the soldiers and that which was kept for the Indians were made subject to entry at ten pounds for every one hundred acres in North Carolina paper money.<sup>30</sup> Thus the public lands were used both to pay the soldiers of the State and to restore the credit of her paper currency.

The result of this land legislation of North Carolina was that when 1784 was reached the best of the western

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<sup>24</sup> Act of November Session, 1777. — *Clark's State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 43-48.

<sup>25</sup> Act of June Session, 1781. — *Clark's State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, p. 400.

<sup>26</sup> Act of April Session, 1780. — *Clark's State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 337-339.

<sup>27</sup> Act of January Session, 1781. — *Clark's State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 367-373.

<sup>28</sup> Acts of 1782. — *Clark's State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 419-422.

<sup>29</sup> Act of 1783. — *Clark's State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 482-485.

<sup>30</sup> Act of 1783. — *Clark's State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 478-482.

lands had been picked out and hundreds of thousands of acres entered by speculators. There is, therefore, little cause for wonder that Governor Martin, writing from North Carolina to the delegates in Congress, December 8, 1783, expressed the fear that Congress might be dissatisfied with the opening of a land office by North Carolina as the State made them (the Congress) no cession of any part of the western land. He summarized the land legislation of the North Carolina Assembly at its recent meeting and added that if the chartered bounds of the State had extended west and north of the Ohio, North Carolina would have been more liberal, but that the State could not think of parting with any lands this side of the Mississippi until her own internal debt was paid.<sup>21</sup>

With the winter of 1784, then, there seemed to be every probability that North Carolina would remain shut up within the walls of State Sovereignty. But while North Carolina was disposing of her lands, Virginia, having provided in the Kentucky region for *her* soldiers, was preparing to surrender her claim to the Northwest. At the end of the winter, on March 4th, the Virginia delegates completed the deed of cession which had been authorized by the act of the Virginia legislature in the preceding autumn.<sup>22</sup>

January, meanwhile, had witnessed at Annapolis Washington's resignation of his commission,<sup>23</sup> and the end of the year saw the labors of the former Commander-in-Chief devoted to the western country. Jefferson and Madison were likewise busy in the interim with the problem of organization, both looking toward an increase in the effectiveness of the general government.<sup>24</sup> "We

<sup>21</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVI, p. 919.

<sup>22</sup> *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, p. 344.

<sup>23</sup> *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, p. 318.

<sup>24</sup> Bancroft's *History of the United States of America* (Edition of 1887), Vol. VI, Part II, Chs. 2, 3.

hope", wrote Jefferson to Madison, "that North Carolina will cede all beyond the same meridian" — the meridian of the mouth of the Kanawha.<sup>35</sup> For the government of the territory he prepared a plan in the shape of the ordinance which was adopted April 23d, while his scheme for disposing of the land was postponed. In addition to the cession, Virginia accepted other recommendations of Congress. She gave Congress the power to regulate commerce and adopted the change in the eighth of the Articles of Confederation.<sup>36</sup> On April 29th, after some debate, Congress voted to press again the States which had not ceded their land claims, in an effort to make these cessions complete.<sup>37</sup>

Before this last recommendation of the Congress of the Confederation, the North Carolina Congress had met.<sup>38</sup> At that time Governor Martin had received from Spaight a letter, dated February 24th, in which Spaight gave his approval to the suggestions of the Congress of April 18, 1783, as affording the best means of paying North Carolina's quota of the debt.<sup>39</sup> Williamson also had written of the Virginia cession.<sup>40</sup> Martin's message of April 20th repeated to the legislature the proposals of Congress.<sup>41</sup> On May 3rd a joint committee recommended, among other things, the adoption of the change in Article 8, the grant to Congress of the impost duty, the establishment through taxation of a fund for the prin-

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<sup>35</sup> Bancroft's *History of the United States of America* (Edition of 1887), Vol. VI, Part II, p. 116.

<sup>36</sup> Bancroft's *History of the United States of America* (Edition of 1887), Vol. VI, Part II, p. 122.

<sup>37</sup> *Journals of Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, p. 392.

<sup>38</sup> April 19, 1784. — Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XIX, p. 489.

<sup>39</sup> Written from Annapolis. — Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, pp. 21-28.

<sup>40</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, pp. 34-39.

<sup>41</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XIX, pp. 495-497.



cipal and interest of the debt, and the cession of the western lands of North Carolina.<sup>42</sup>

Each one of these recommendations was duly passed into a law.<sup>43</sup> The example of Virginia and the recommendations of the North Carolina delegates had for the time won over a majority of the North Carolina legislators to the broader national outlook and the disposition to increase the power of the Confederation government. Of the measures passed, the Act of Cession has chief interest for us. In the older collections of laws the full text of this important statute was omitted, but now the *State Records of North Carolina* happily render the whole of the law accessible.

The preamble referred to the resolutions of the Congress of the United States, passed September 6th and October 10, 1780, and that of April 18, 1783, in which the States were urged to cede their western territory "as a further means of extinguishing the debt and establishing the harmony of the United States". Concurring in this spirit North Carolina, therefore, ceded to the Congress of the United States, "for the said States", the title, etc., which she had to the lands west of the Alleghany Mountains.

Omitting matters of boundary let us pass to the terms which by the Act of Cession were definitely stated as conditions of the grant.

1. After the Cession should be accepted, neither the lands nor the inhabitants of the territory west of the boundary line should be estimated in the ascertaining of North Carolina's proportion with the United States in the expenses of the late war.

<sup>42</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XIX, pp. 542-545.

<sup>43</sup> Acts of April Session, 1784. — Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 547-549, 557-559, 561-563, 564-565. Another act authorized Congress to regulate the commerce of the States; and still another permitted Congress, in the final settlement of financial matters, to waive the provisions of Article 8. — See Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, p. 561.

2. The lands provided by North Carolina laws for the officers and soldiers should inure to the use and benefit of those officers. Detailed provisions were enacted, permitting the removal of locations to vacant lands, in cases where there was a conflict of claims. The reservations to the Indians were to be respected and continued.

3. All the lands ceded to the United States should be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United American States as then were or should become members of the Confederation or Federal Alliance of the said States, North Carolina inclusive.

4. The ceded territory should be laid out or formed into a State or States which should be "a distinct republican state or states and admitted members of the Federal union having the same right of sovereignty as other states". Such states should be permitted the same constitution and bill of rights which were now established in North Carolina subject to proper alterations not inconsistent with the Confederation of the United States. "Provided always, that no regulations made or to be made by Congress shall tend to emancipate slaves otherwise than shall be directed by the Assembly or Legislature of such State or States."

5. If Congress should not accept the lands thus ceded and give due notice within twelve months, the Act should be of no force and the lands should revert to the States.<sup>44</sup>

These nationalizing measures and particularly the Act of Cession did not pass without a struggle. This act was passed in the House by a vote of fifty-two to forty-three; a resolution to defer it to another session had previously been lost only by a single vote.<sup>45</sup> A supplementary act was passed, also, which declared that the sovereignty and jurisdiction of North Carolina with re-

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<sup>44</sup> Act of April Session, 1784. — Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 561-563. The text as printed says distinctly *twelve months*. Haywood wrote "two years", and the error has been followed by all subsequent historians.

<sup>45</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XIX, pp. 642-643.

gard to the ceded territory should continue until Congress should accept the cession.<sup>46</sup>

On the third reading of the Act of Cession a protest was filed by William B. Davie and several others, which is of great interest as one of the rare expressions of the opinion of those opposed to the relinquishment of the western lands. Davie and his associates based their dissent on the following grounds. The extent of North Carolina's territory as bounded by the Treaty of Peace could never endanger the general Confederacy. The cession of so large a portion of the State, while Virginia and Georgia would retain an immense territory, would be dangerous and impolitic. Moreover, this State from her local circumstances and the weakness of the two southern States was obliged to advance for their aid and defense large sums which were still unliquidated, and as North Carolina's credits for those advances had been uniformly opposed by the eastern States it should have been expressly stipulated that the whole expense of the Indian expedition and militia aids to Georgia and South Carolina should pass to North Carolina's account in connection with the continental expenses. Again, the resolves of Congress of February 17th or of April 18, 1783, with reference to the just proportion of the Federal debt should first have been carried into effect and these accounts liquidated. The western territory had been considered by the people and solemnly pledged by the legislature as security for their claims against the public. Experience had shown that the State's want of public honesty had been already severely punished by her want of public credit, and they deemed it a false and mistaken conception that her credit would be increased with foreign nations by an open and palpable breach of faith to her own citizens. Justice and policy required that the

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<sup>46</sup> Act of April Session, 1784. — *Clark's State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 563-564.

domestic debt should be settled first. This point they expanded, explaining the difference between the domestic debt and the loan. Loans were made by those who spare from their consumption to the necessity of government; but a large part of the domestic debt grew out of the generous advances of individuals to the public in the hour of distress. Suspension of payment must prove ruinous to those patriotic sufferers and a disgrace to the State. Again, the auditors had left many claims unadjusted. As the cession disregarded these, they "could never consent that the public faith should be violated and the general interest sacrificed to the aggrandizement of a few land jobbers who have preyed on the depreciated credit of their country and the necessities of the unfortunate citizens". Lastly, they raised the point of constitutionality, declaring that by the Bill of Rights, the limits of the State were not to be altered "but for the purpose of erecting a new government only".<sup>47</sup>

This strong remonstrance of Davie's was dated June 3rd, the last day of the session. The Governor at once notified the North Carolina delegates of the measures which had passed, expressing again doubt as to the acceptability of the terms of the cession.<sup>48</sup> Only a little more than a month later the Governor received a letter from Williamson, written on July 5, 1784, just after the adjournment of Congress and his return to North Carolina. Williamson criticised the eastern members for being in such haste that they would take no measures for making peace with the southern Indians; nor would they admit the authority of Congress to raise troops in time of peace for any purpose.

Williamson said that he had not seen the North Carolina Act of Cession, but he expressed surprise that no

<sup>47</sup> *House Journal*, 1784 (April Session), June 3. — Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XIX, pp. 712-714.

<sup>48</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, pp. 78-80.

provision was made for passing the Indian expeditions to the credit of the State in account with the United States. He presumed that the legislature when it reconsidered the matter would *suspend the Cession*. He called Martin's attention to the extraordinary claims advanced by the eastern States: Massachusetts had advanced a claim for recompense for her privateering Penobscot expedition; Connecticut for defending Greenwich, Groton, New London, and New Haven; and Massachusetts for extra bounties. North Carolina should do likewise.<sup>49</sup>

Somewhat over two months later Williamson repeated this advice in a letter to the Governor written from Edenton, September 30, 1784. This long letter is, in effect, a report to the Governor of the Federal politics of the last session from the standpoint of a southern State. It is a state paper of the highest value. The spirit of the letter is one which looks favorably upon the authority of Congress, but regards with jealousy the attempts of States in other sections, especially in New England, to secure for themselves advantages in their relations to the government of the Confederation and to the other States.

Williamson begins his communication by presenting a new Federal question which we have not included in those discussed above. This concerned the purchase from the Indians of the lands ceded to Congress by New York and Virginia and, more particularly, the raising

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<sup>49</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, p. 81 ff. Of equal interest is Williamson's further comment on the plan for laying out and settling the western territory, which had not been agreed to in Congress, but which had been published in the journals for general consideration during the recess. "This being our sheet anchor", said Williamson, "is to be carefully managed. I think the plan proposed will prevent innumerable frauds and enable us to save millions. The general object is to oblige the surveyors to account for the land by parallels, dots, and meridians. However, as I happen to have suggested the plan to the committee, it is more than probable that I have parental prejudice in its favor."

of a military force necessary either to hold an advantageous treaty or to keep the Indians in check. But to the right of Congress to make requisitions of troops in times of peace some of the States would not assent; hence the Congress had been compelled to resort to the poor expedient of calling on certain States for militia. "The inefficacy and expense of this measure", said Williamson, "may probably give rise to better ones".

He next passed to an even more important matter. This concerned the claims advanced by Massachusetts and New Hampshire and Connecticut with reference to the redemption of the old Continental money, to bounties for recruiting the Continental line, and to the amount of service rendered by these States. Williamson raised the question, Had Massachusetts done more than her quota or had North Carolina done less than her quota of military service? At present, he declared, he was not furnished with materials by which he could answer those questions. Continuing, he said that "the personal service to be performed by the citizens of any State was to have been according to the number of its white inhabitants. And no account can be procured of the number of our inhabitants. Early in the Revolution our delegates for obvious reasons stated the number of our militia at 40,000, but the motives to such large statements have long since vanished and it is our duty and interest to be more correct." If as has been done in some States the population was counted as equivalent to five inhabitants for every man on the militia rolls it would be necessary to get from the brigadiers in North Carolina the musters of 1782 and thus compute the population. In such a return it would hardly be fair to include the settlers in the new counties over the mountains who were not there during the war, nor would any list taken the present year be so perfectly unexceptionable. Having ascertained the number of the militia it would perhaps

be found that near the beginning of the war North Carolina raised too great a proportion of Continental troops, and with the vast bodies of militia who did duty towards the end of the war chargeable to Continental account, probably North Carolina would not appear to have been deficient; if so, she would hardly object to the Massachusetts claim provided she could obtain a similar credit. It would be necessary to know the different "tours of duty", the number of men, the length of their service, and at whose instance they were called out. This last point was specially important as many would not be chargeable to the accounts of the United States. Some of the northern States, he said, had been much more careful as to securing the proper Federal authority.

But it would be very difficult to obtain an act to recognize claims for all militia service. Nine States would have to agree to such a measure. New Hampshire and Pennsylvania had already obtained full credit. Rhode Island, Delaware, and Maryland likewise would probably object to admitting any new charges by which their quota of the debt would be increased and nothing added to their own credit. In view of these difficulties Williamson said that he must refer to the Act of Cession passed by the last General Assembly. He was quite willing to believe that both those who supported and those who opposed that measure were eager for the honor of the State and the strength of the Union and only differed concerning the best means. However, some very unexpected incidents had presented themselves since the last spring, which must affect North Carolina's finances greatly and alter the policy of the State. First, Congress had adjourned so hurriedly that they could not obtain a vote for commissioners to treat of peace with the southern Indians. Should an Indian war break out, the western inhabitants of North Carolina would be among the chief sufferers. Second, Massachusetts and

Connecticut had advanced new claims to western territory in New York and westward of Pennsylvania respectively. Third, Rhode Island was said once more to have rejected the five per cent impost. Over the evil effects of this last, Williamson proceeded to dilate, emphasizing the danger which North Carolina would incur from the enactment of State customs tariffs by Virginia and South Carolina, her commercial neighbors.

Fourth, continued Williamson, Georgia which had rendered very little service during the war obtained a very extensive territory by the manner in which boundaries had been settled at the Peace. She might yield to the United States at least sixty-three millions of acres after retaining for herself an extent of three hundred miles from the sea. North Carolina's share of such a cession, if Georgia would make it, would be equal to the greater part of that which remained for North Carolina to give.

Fifth, Williamson brought forward the matter of the Indian expedition undertaken by North Carolina. He reminded the Governor that in 1782 the delegates had urged that if a cession should be made, it should be stipulated that the whole expense of such expeditions should pass to the account of North Carolina, and had expressed their uneasiness that they had not been informed nor authorized to apply to Congress for the approbation of that body. Failing such approbation he feared that such expeditions would continue to be a State expense.

Recapitulating, Williamson urged that there were three measures which North Carolina was greatly interested in promoting, namely: that Rhode Island and Georgia should agree to the five per cent impost; that Georgia should cede part of her territory; and that the expenses of the Indian expeditions should be paid by the United States. Could the western territory belonging



to North Carolina be so managed as to promote these several interests?

As to the last he expressed himself as hopeful, arguing as follows:

If we should immediately complete the cession we shall give up the power of making advantageous terms and shall lose the argument which may bring others to adopt federal measures; on the other hand should we sell out what remains of this territory to the western inhabitants whatever inconveniences they may suffer, they will lose the prospect of becoming a separate state; the quota of our state will be doubled, though we shall hardly have the means of paying half of our present quota. In that case too we shall give up the means of making terms or the power of adopting better measures if better should present themselves. The situation is critical. Perhaps it is most consistent with prudence and sound policy to make a pause. Whatever shall finally appear to be for the honor and true interest of the state may be done twelve months hence as well as now. But we may do wrong things which may not be undone.<sup>50</sup>

Williamson's letter was continued to great length, and included many other matters of great interest — the relation of North Carolina's quota to the eighth article of the Articles of Confederation, the interests of the western settlers, the various plans for the sale of western territory, the present situation of the public arms, and the sale of forfeited property in the State of North Carolina. But the important point for our purpose has been made clear by our analysis and by the extensive quotations which we have made, namely, his plea for a *delay in the completion of the cession* in order that North Carolina's surrender of her western lands might be used as a lever to secure the best interest of the State in the conflict of which the Congress was the battle ground.

October 22nd the General Assembly met at New Bern. Several important acts were passed of which the

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<sup>50</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, p. 94. — The letter as a whole occupies eleven pages of print.

sixteenth chapter was an act repealing the cession made in the preceding spring. The preamble to this act stated that the cession made at that time was made "in full confidence that the whole expense of the Indian expeditions and militia aids to the state of South Carolina and Georgia should pass to account in our quota of the continental expenses incurred by the late war; and also that the other states holding western territory would make similar cessions, and that all the states would unanimously grant imposts of five per cent as a common fund for the discharge of the federal debt." But "whereas, the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, after accepting the cession of New York and Virginia, have since put in claims for the whole or a large part of that territory, and all the above expected measures for constituting a substantial common fund, have been either frustrated or delayed", this act repealed the Act of Cession in its entirety.<sup>51</sup>

As the Act of Cession had met with a protest, so its repeal met with the dissent of twenty members of the legislature, headed by A. Maclaine.<sup>52</sup> This protest said that however ill-founded the policy of the cession, the grant was irrevocable and the repeal, therefore, was disgraceful. They were confirmed in this opinion by the conclusion of the protest entered into against the cession by many members of the last Assembly who, as members of this Assembly, had advocated and voted for the repeal. But were the territory thus granted within their reach they could not but believe it inconsistent to the true interest of the State to recall to their possession a country the inhabitants of which rejected their government, did not contribute to its support, and as long as they contin-

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<sup>51</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 678-679.

<sup>52</sup> The protest was said by Maclaine to have been drawn up by Hay. — Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, p. 186.

ued unwillingly attached to its empire, remained a weight to their expense without relieving their public burden.

Next, they criticised the reasons set forth in the preamble of the repealing act, which, unsupported by testimony, they believed to be founded in an unjustifiable suspicion of the grand council of the Federal union of the United States of America which might render difficult the future settlement of North Carolina's claims. The action of the Assembly would contribute to the continuance and increase of that division in the council of the United States, already the source of so many evils. Again, the repeal of the cession without any increase to the strength of the State, as the inhabitants of the western country formed one-tenth of the numbers of the people, would by so much increase North Carolina's debt in settling the expenses of the war, as the number of the people formed the criterion for the discharge of that debt. Furthermore, the attempt to recall the grant proved the Assembly unworthy to receive for North Carolina any benefit from the liberal cessions of western territory made by other States to the United States as a common fund for the use and benefit of the United States.

Lastly, between the absolute grant made by the former act and the re-annexation of the present act, the government of the western country would apparently pertain to both Congress and to this State and seem to belong to neither; and during the confusion, the inhabitants of the country contended for might from necessity erect themselves into a distinct government inconsistent with the benefit expected by the United States and subversive of their own pretended claims and the right saved to their citizens under the conditions of the Act of Cession."

The North Carolina Assembly rose November 25th. A few days later Governor Martin wrote officially to the

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<sup>52</sup> *House Journal*, 1784 (October session), November 25. — Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XIX, pp. 830-832.

President of Congress to inform him that the Act of Cession had been repealed, and referred him to the delegates for further information on the subject.<sup>54</sup> The same day Martin wrote also to the delegates giving an account of the Assembly's action in the matter of the cession, the interest of the foreign loan, the proposed treaty with the Cherokees, and various changes in the official system of the colony.<sup>55</sup> To proceed with the course of events in Congress and in North Carolina would be an interesting task; but the limits set for this paper — the North Carolina Cession and its repeal — have been reached. Even before this Assembly met, the possibility to which MacLaine had referred in the last paragraph of his protest against the repeal had become an actual fact. On August 23d there came together the deputies from the counties of Washington, Sullivan, and Green, to form the first convention to consider the interests of the settlers of that region. This was the first step in the development of the State of Franklin.

Unquestionably news of the Franklin convention must have speedily reached the State authorities, but it was not until April, 1785, that the Council of State was called to consider events which had taken place west of the mountains.<sup>56</sup> The repeal was passed, as we have seen, in November. In December, the following month, Governor Martin appointed Sevier to office under the North Carolina government, and in his letter informing him of this and giving him instructions no reference was made to the events of August.<sup>57</sup> This official silence and inaction may indeed have been due to the wish tactfully to bring influence to bear upon the discontented pioneers. But at least one thing is certain, the conclusion of former

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<sup>54</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, pp. 110, 111.

<sup>55</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, pp. 111, 112.

<sup>56</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, pp. 435, 436.

<sup>57</sup> Clark's *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVII, p. 109.

writers from Haywood down — that the repeal of the Act of Cession was hurried through solely because of the Franklin convention of August — is shown to be incorrect, for a better reason appears in the arguments brought forward by Williamson and supported by Spaight with reference to the retention of the western lands by North Carolina. The cession was withdrawn not so much because North Carolina feared the Franklin movement in itself, as because she wished to keep her hold on her western territory in order to settle her financial relations to the Confederation. The whole movement was much more than local in its importance. It was a series of events which involved the deepest problem in the period of the Confederation — the adjustment of State and Federal relations in regard to two fundamental and correlated powers, the control of the purse and the control of the land system.

## WILLIAM CLARK—THE INDIAN AGENT

BY HARLOW LINDLEY

William Clark is probably best known to the people of the United States from his connection with the exploration of the Oregon country; but the close student of the history of our country finds another phase of his life of great interest and of important historical value.

When a mere lad of four years he listened with great avidity to the tales of Indian warfare, and this interest, so early manifested in the Indians, the "red-haired chief" carried with him to the last. He was trained in a good school to develop keenness, courage, and a love for the life of a frontiersman. His hero from babyhood was an older brother — the dauntless George Rogers Clark. His mother was Ann Rogers, from whom he inherited "iron in the blood and granite in the backbone". His father was John Clark, the grandson of a cavalier.

From boyhood William Clark was a person of deeds rather than of words. When about fifteen years of age his parents moved from Virginia westward. The new environment furnished an opportunity for that training which was later to make him famous.

Soon after moving westward he was frequently a member of war parties against the Indians, who were still troublesome. Early in his seventeenth year he enlisted in the Wabash Expedition under his elder brother, George Rogers Clark. In 1789, before he was twenty years old, he joined Colonel John Hardin's expedition against the tribes in Ohio. In 1790 he was sent on a mission to the Creeks and Cherokees of the South. In 1791, with General Scott, he served in the Wabash Indian

expedition, being commissioned first as an ensign and a little later as an acting lieutenant. Two years later he is found in General Anthony Wayne's Western Army. In 1794 he was in charge of an expedition of a train of seven hundred pack horses and eighty men, which he was escorting to Fort Greenville. On this trip he was attacked by Indians, but lost only six men, gallantly repulsing the enemy and eliciting praise from Wayne. In 1795 Clark was sent by Wayne with a message to the Spanish authorities at New Madrid.

In 1796, he retired from the army because of ill health, and for the time being became a young country gentleman, looking after the business of his father's estate. In 1804, he was appointed by President Jefferson, with Captain Meriwether Lewis, to explore the Missouri and Columbia rivers, then unknown to white people, except to a few traders. This expedition opened to the people of the United States a country half as large as Europe. The expedition made Lewis and Clark famous. Clark became the friend of the Nez Perce Flathead Indians, whom he met beyond the Rockies, and in later years they visited him in St. Louis annually, up to the time of his death.

All this gave Clark a thorough knowledge of the way to deal with the Indians, to handle large bodies of men and supplies, and an opportunity to display his courage and resources. These experiences prepared him for the years that followed in his dealings with the Indians, and taught him their habits and character. His life purpose seems to have been to give them a fair deal.

Soon after his return from the Oregon expedition Clark received the appointment of Brigadier General and Indian Agent for Louisiana on March 12, 1807, at Washington, where he and Meriwether Lewis were feasted and courted and regarded as the heroes of the hour. Almost immediately upon receiving his appointment Clark set

out for St. Louis, to begin his real work among the Indians — a work which was to continue for more than thirty years, which was to win for him the love of the race to whom he gave the best years of his life, and which was, in 1820, to bring down upon his head the censure of the politicians who declared that "Clark is too good to the Indians."

The first summer he was very busy quelling Indian disturbances which, it was believed, were incited by the British traders. In October he returned to Virginia where, early in 1808, he was married to Miss Julia Hancock. Very soon after this event he returned to his duties at St. Louis. From this place, under date of July 20, 1810, he wrote that one hundred and fifty Sacs and Foxes were on a visit to the island of St. Joseph in Lake Huron. As this was at a time when British emissaries were at work among the tribes, the worst was feared. The Indians under Black Hawk were forming alliances.

Clark continued to live in St. Louis, busy with affairs of this kind, until the summer of 1812 when the country was startled by the cry that Hull had surrendered to the British. Thus the first encounter of the Second War of Independence had passed into history. Before this Madison had offered the command of the Army of Detroit to Clark, who, feeling that he could serve his country best by attending to the Indians, had gratefully declined. A little later, in December, 1812, he was made Governor of Missouri — which Territory had recently been organized.

All during the war of 1812 hostile tribes were constantly committing great depredations; and in 1814 it was necessary to strengthen the fort at Prairie du Chien. With this in mind Governor Clark set out with an expedition of two hundred men, for, said he, "Whoever holds Prairie du Chien, holds the Upper Mississippi", and a moment later added: "It requires time and a little smok-



ing with Indians, if you wish to have peace with them." On the route they encountered some Sacs and Foxes who, being thoroughly frightened, sued for peace. They made no objections to the terms, but gladly promised to take up arms against the enemies of the United States. Dickson, the treacherous English agent who had been inciting the Indians, left Prairie du Chien two days before the arrival of Clark, leaving it in charge of Captain Deace. But the latter left, and when Clark entered the fort he found it deserted. Most of the inhabitants returned, however, and a new fort was in progress of building when Clark left the Prairie.

In the meantime Black Hawk and the British Sacs were not idle. The Indians declared that Dickson had employed an Indian brave to assassinate Clark at Prairie du Chien. This warrior entered the council with murder in his heart, but finding the Americans armed, he was forced to give up the attempt.

Indian depredations did not cease with the Treaty of Ghent, although the tribes were notified of its terms by Governor Clark and others. They continued their warfare, especially in the Missouri Territory, and all effort to come to an understanding proved unavailing. The following is a copy of instructions sent by Monroe, Secretary of War, to the commissioners, Governor Clark, Ninian Edwards, Governor of the Illinois Territory, and Colonel Auguste Chouteau:

Department of War, March 25, 1815.<sup>1</sup>

Sir:—

At the treaty which you as commissioners are authorized to hold with the Indians, the President thinks it will be proper to make some presents to the chiefs and headmen of the tribes who may attend. For this purpose, twenty thousand dollars worth of goods have been directed to be purchased and will be forwarded by Messrs. Johnson and Sibley who will probably

<sup>1</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 6.

reach St. Louis with them in the first week in June. Whether it will be necessary to distribute the whole of these goods to the Indians will depend upon the number of tribes which attend the treaty, and on the judgment and discretion of the commissioners as to the extent to which presents ought to be made. Should any Indians who have been friendly to the United States attend this treaty, it will be well, in the distribution of presents, to let them feel that those who have been our enemies are not better treated than those who have been our friends. Among the articles to be sent out, there are some solid silver medals; and it having been understood that the late General Pike, when on his expedition up the Mississippi, took from some of the Indians medals which had been given to them by the British, it is requested that, if any of these Indians attend the treaty, a medal of the largest size be given to each of them in lieu of those taken from them by General Pike.

I have the honor to be, etc.

J. Monroe.

His Excellency W. Clark, St. Louis.

Fearing that a treaty might not be satisfactorily concluded at Prairie du Chien, Clark wrote to the Secretary of War that it was well to be prepared for either peace or war. A second letter was written, which sounded a more doubtful note than the preceding. To these letters Monroe replied that the President would use the military force of the United States to suppress the Indians if necessary.

Under date of July 16, 1815, another letter was sent from the commissioners to Monroe from Portage des Sioux, voicing the sentiment that they feared the worst from the attempt at a treaty as the tribes had sent some of the most contemptible of their braves and but few chiefs to treat with them, and these had declared that even should the chiefs agree to relinquish their land the tribes would never consent to it.

Meanwhile Jackson was placed in command of this military district, and Clark, acting under his instructions,

ordered the militia to hold itself in readiness for instant action. These measures had the desired effect, and the tone of the next communication was quite different. Treaties had been concluded with the Pattawatamies, the Piankeshaws, the Yanctons, the Teetons, the Mahas, the Sioux of the Lakes, and the Sioux of the river St. Peters at Portage des Sioux. A little later treaties were also made at the same point with the Kickapoos, the Big and Little Osages, the Sacs of Missouri River, the Foxes and the Ioways. The letter apprising Monroe of this treaty mentioned, also, the division among the Indians about Prairie du Chien concerning the expediency of a treaty, and expressed the belief that hostility had been engendered by British traders.

On October 18, 1815, a long letter was received by the War Department from Clark and his assistants in which they stated they had explicitly followed the directions of the government, but they feared no further treaties could be effected. They spoke of the intriguing of the British traders and of their part in stirring up the Indians. They advised the making of further treaties with those tribes that were friendly. They also cited an instance of the unjust treatment of the Cherokees by the whites, stating that the tribes desired peaceable possession of a definite tract of land, which should be free from the encroachments of the whites.

William H. Crawford was now Secretary of War. In his absence George Graham, Chief Clerk, acting under instructions from the President, authorized Clark to order the removal of all whites settling on Indian territory, promising the assistance of United States troops, if needed.

On October 1, 1815, Clark sent a letter to Crawford plainly stating that he considered a change in the management of Indian affairs expedient. The Indian agents should be given more power to deal with law breakers.

He believed it might be well to establish a department to manage Indian affairs, but admitted his inability to answer the question decisively. He advised the organization of a company with banking privileges.

On May 13, 1816, a treaty was concluded between the United States through her representatives, William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau, and the Sacs of Rock River. Reference was made in this treaty to the refusal of these tribes to meet in council at Portage des Sioux and to the depredations since committed by them. But, having grown weary of strife, they were eager to be at peace and earnestly implored mercy. They assented to the conditions of the treaty of 1804 at St. Louis, and agreed to restore all property stolen since the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent before July 1st. Failure to comply with this provision meant a forfeiture of their annuities.

On June 1, 1816, a treaty was made with the Sioux in which the Indians confirmed previous cessions of land and acknowledged themselves subjects of the United States. A similar pledge was entered into between the United States and the Winnebagoes on June 3rd. A portion of this tribe, having separated itself from the rest, promised to remain apart until the others should come into friendly relations with the United States. On August 24th, a treaty was made with the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies in which these tribes promised to relinquish their claim on certain disputed cessions (retaining the right to hunt and fish) in return for "a considerable quantity of merchandise and an annual present for twelve years of one thousand dollars worth of goods and the relinquishment on the part of the United States of certain portions of disputed territory ceded to the general government by the Sacs and Foxes."

Shortly before the consummation of the first of the

follow, but to the day of his death William Clark was given the title of "Governor" Clark. Soon after his return to Missouri he was made Superintendent of Indian affairs, which position he held until his death.

In 1824 treaties were made by Clark with the Ioways and the Sacs and Foxes, in which they renounced all claims to land lying in Missouri. In 1825 similar treaties were concluded with the Great and Little Osages, the Kansas, and the Shawanees. The same year occurred the celebrated treaty of Prairie du Chien, by which the Indian tribes agreed to live in general and lasting peace among themselves. The boundary lines between the different tribes were also established. This was the first time in ten years that Clark had visited Prairie du Chien. Far and near could be heard the whisper among the tribes, "The Great Chief, the Red Head is coming". Here assembled the Sioux, Sauks, Foxes, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, Menominees and Ioways. The commissioners were somewhat disappointed that some of the Indians from up the Missouri had not come. By the consummate tact of General Clark and Governor Cass of Michigan the treaty was concluded and peace reigned. In Cass's words "They made the treaty of perpetual peace, and settled the boundaries between the different tribes which resulted in the United States sending a corps of surveyors and surveying the boundaries at great expense, and perhaps keep the Indians at peace until they were ready to go to war again." But, with a shrug of the shoulders, "they would have it so at Washington". The words of "Governor" Clark as he went homeward were, "Pray God it may last."

Of Clark's real interest in the Indians there can be no doubt, in proof of which I submit the following extract taken from his letter of March 1, 1826, to James Barbour, Secretary of War:

referred to cessions of land which might be made from Cherokee and Osage tribes and reiterated the danger of cessions too remote.

Difficulties having arisen between some Cherokees who had emigrated from their tribe and the Osages, it was necessary to run a line of the Osage Purchase from the Missouri to the Arkansas. In the event of the Cherokees having settled on the Osage land, Clark and the other agents wrote the Secretary of War to ascertain what course they should pursue in regard to the improvements made by the Cherokees. But Crawford could not advise in this matter as the tribe had refused to treat with the government concerning these emigrants, declaring they must return and live with their tribe.


Through the efforts of Clark in October, 1818, a treaty was effected between the Cherokees and the Osages and friendly relations were re-established. The Osages ceded a part of their land north of the Arkansas to the United States in payment of property which they had stolen from the citizens. The tribe had, also, decided to live together in one village as advised by Clark and requested that an agent be sent to them.

In 1819 the celebrated conflict over the admission of Missouri as a State arose. When it became evident that it was to be admitted, the question of the choice of a Governor was an important one. Many favored the selection of a new man to succeed Governor Clark on the grounds that the latter had favored the Indian at the expense of the white man — a charge wholly unjust. Just at this time occurred the death of his wife in Virginia. And so, in the midst of the political entanglement Clark was called away to bury the woman who, since the day of her coming into his home, had helped to make his life in the West such a success. When he returned to Missouri it was to find the official chair of the new State filled by a new man. There were many Governors to

follow, but to the day of his death William Clark was given the title of "Governor" Clark. Soon after his return to Missouri he was made Superintendent of Indian affairs, which position he held until his death.

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The events of the last twenty two or three years, from General Wayne's campaign in 1794, to the end of the operations against the southern tribes, in 1818, have entirely changed our position with regard to the Indians. Before these events, the tribes nearest our settlements were a formidable and terrible enemy; since then, their power has been broken, their warlike spirit subdued, and themselves sunk into objects of pity and commiseration. While strong and hostile, it has been our obvious policy to weaken them; now that they are weak and harmless, and most of their lands fallen into our hands, justice and humanity require us to befriend and cherish them.<sup>3</sup>

He continued in this strain a plea for their civilization. He labored hard to improve their condition. When in the course of his administration word was brought him that the traders were giving whiskey to the Indians his indignation leaped forth and the American Fur Company hastened to explain and to condone, so far as possible, their offence.

Because of the constant trouble arising between the whites and the Indians, Clark tried to induce the eastern tribes to sell their lands and move west of the Mississippi. With this in mind he set out in 1830 for Prairie du Chien. Many tribes from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois adopted his advice. Money became exhausted, but Clark used his own resources and his credit to move them. He implored the Department for help. The whites became incensed at the constant depredations of the Indians. The Superintendent used every argument to prevail upon the remaining tribes to leave their exhausted lands and go west, but they invariably answered, "Another year".

Here again, we find Black Hawk stubbornly resisting the removal to the last. During his absence in Canada, Keokuk made the final cession, but Black Hawk refused to go; and in 1832 he invaded Illinois. War followed, resulting in the capture of Black Hawk, who was sent to

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<sup>3</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 653.




St. Louis. Clark seldom went to see him because he could not endure seeing the haughty chief, who was his friend, thus humbled.

Clark was now growing old, but his vitality continued almost unabated. In 1837 news was brought to him that small-pox had broken out among the Mandans and had almost obliterated that tribe. The contagion spread. The Superintendent employed physicians in St. Louis to vaccinate. He sent them out, also, to the different tribes, but the superstitious Indians fled with the cry, "The white men have come with small-pox in a bottle."

All this excitement and the decimation of the tribes visibly affected Clark, and his health began to decline. On September 1, 1838, he died. One of his last requests was that he be buried in sight and sound of the Mississippi River.

A deep gloom fell upon St. Louis. Everybody mourned "Governor" Clark. The Indians wept for the "Red haired Chief" and soon disappeared entirely from the city that had been his home for more than thirty-one years. It was to him that they had looked in emergencies. It was to him that the Nez Perces from beyond the Rocky Mountains had sent their four chiefs in search of "the Book" which led the Methodists in 1834 to send out Jason Lee and four others to Oregon, to be followed two years later by Whitman and Spalding with their brides.

Thus lived and died William Clark, who, first as Governor, then as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, probably did more than any other man to reconcile the Indian to the attitude of the United States, as well as to make the United States see the need of the Indian. Although sometimes severe, the red man felt that he was ever just. All honor to the man who gave his treasure and his life to the work of establishing a harmonious relationship between the government and the Indian who felt that he had been unjustly treated. William Clark loved and lived



for his country and its interests, and was probably the most beloved, honored, and revered man in the West at the time of his death.

## THE STORY OF SERGEANT CHARLES FLOYD

BY FRANK HARMON GARVER

### INTRODUCTION

Sergeant Charles Floyd, the subject of this paper, was a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He was formally enlisted for the enterprise on March 31, 1804, and on the following day was appointed a Sergeant.<sup>1</sup> He started out with the company on May 14th, and on August 20th of the same year he died and was buried within the present corporation limits of Sioux City, Iowa. In the short time allowed to the writer of this paper only the briefest sketch can be given of Floyd's life, and of the effort made since his death to perpetuate his memory. As an historical figure he has five claims to consideration.<sup>2</sup> (1) His was the only death to occur upon the Lewis and Clark Expedition, although the expedition lasted two years and a half and was confronted by formidable dangers and almost insurmountable difficulties. (2) He was the first "citizen-soldier" of the United States to die and be buried within the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase. (3) The most costly monument which has been reared to the memory of any member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition now marks the grave of Sergeant Charles Floyd. (4) Sergeant Floyd was one of the few men on the expedition to keep a journal, and one of a still smaller number whose journal has been published. (5) His fame has been preserved in the names given to a bluff, a river, a

<sup>1</sup> Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12. Floyd had undoubtedly been with the expedition all winter in its camp at the mouth of River Dubois.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Wheeler's *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*, Vol. I, p. 84.

town, a park, and, some claim, to a county — all in the State of Iowa.

Mr. Olin D. Wheeler, author of *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*, ranks Floyd as second in historical interest to Colter among all the members of the expedition, excepting only the two leaders.<sup>3</sup>

#### ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE

Very little is known of the early life of Sergeant Floyd. His grandfather, William Floyd, together with two brothers, John and Charles, migrated from Wales to the American colonies early in the eighteenth century. John went to the northern colonies, and Charles to Georgia; while William settled in Virginia — first in the tidewater region, but soon moving westward into the new county of Amherst where he died in 1779, leaving five sons and seven daughters. In the fall of the same year eight of these children, four sons and four daughters, migrated to Kentucky and settled at Bear Grass in Jefferson County near Louisville. The best known of these brothers was Colonel John Floyd, an officer in the Revolutionary War. Another one, named Charles, a surveyor by occupation and a friend of Daniel Boone, is supposed to have been the father of Sergeant Charles Floyd. The age of the latter at the time of his death in 1804 is not definitely known. He was probably born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, sometime between the years 1780 and 1785.

To America the Floyd family has given pioneers, Indian fighters, soldiers, and statesmen. Two of the Sergeant's uncles and four of his aunts were slain by Indians. Colonel John Floyd, who commanded a company under George Rogers Clark, was his uncle. John Floyd, Governor of Virginia in 1829, was his first cousin, as was also George Rogers Clark Floyd of Tippecanoe fame. John B. Floyd, Governor of Virginia and Secretary of

<sup>3</sup> Wheeler's *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*, Vol. I, p. 91.

War under President Buchanan, was his first cousin once removed. The Floyd family was on intimate terms with the Boones and the Clarks. Possibly the choice of William Clark as one of the two leaders of the expedition to explore the Missouri River may account, in part at least, for the enlistment of Charles Floyd in that undertaking. Such, in brief, is practically all that is known of the life of Sergeant Charles Floyd before he became identified with the enterprise in which he lost his life.<sup>4</sup>

#### ON THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

Concerning Floyd's connection with the Lewis and Clark expedition more is known — though not as much as we might wish. Meriwether Lewis in preparing for the expedition had a boat built at Pittsburg in which to transport part of his supplies to St. Louis.<sup>5</sup> On August 31, 1803, Lewis embarked at Pittsburg for his passage down the Ohio.

He was in Cincinnati from September 28th to October 3rd, and reached Louisville sometime during October. Here he picked up Captain William Clark and several, perhaps all, of the nine young men of Kentucky who are known to have accompanied the expedition up the Missouri. There is little doubt that Charles Floyd was one of the Kentuckians to join the company at Louisville.<sup>6</sup> He spent the winter of 1803-1804 at the camp which Lewis and Clark established in Illinois opposite the mouth of

<sup>4</sup> See letter of Miss Mary Floyd McMullen in *The Sioux City Tribune* of August 17, 1901. Reprinted in the *Second Report of the Floyd Memorial Association*, 1901, p. 101. Practically all of the data concerning the Floyd family and ancestry given above was drawn from the letter mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> Wheeler's *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*, Vol. I, p. 61; also Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, p. xxxi.

<sup>6</sup> Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, p. xxxi. Dr. Elliot Cones, compiler of the first *Report of the Floyd Memorial Association*, claims (p. 3) that Floyd joined the expedition in the fall of 1803 at St. Louis, but he gives no proof of his assertion.

the Missouri. The detachment orders, issued during these months, show that Floyd was one of the two men intrusted with greatest authority by the captains.<sup>7</sup>

On March 31, 1804, twenty-five men were formally enlisted for the expedition. The list includes the name of Charles Floyd. On the following day Charles Floyd, John Ordway, and Nathaniel Pryor were appointed sergeants with equal powers.<sup>8</sup> Each sergeant was given command of eight men. The expedition started on May 14th. On the 26th the squads of the three sergeants were ordered to form the crew of the batteaux, the posts and duties of the sergeants being described in detail. During the progress of the voyage Floyd performed his duties with regularity and credit—as is shown by the detachment orders issued by the commanding officers and by references to Floyd in other places.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE EXPEDITION IN WESTERN IOWA

In view of the fact that Floyd died and was buried within the borders of the present State of Iowa, the progress of the Lewis and Clark Expedition along the western border of that State gains in interest to the students of Iowa history. To be brief, the explorers were abreast of the Iowa country from July 18th to August 21st—a period of thirty-four days. Twenty-one days were spent in travel and thirteen at rest. While on the move from three and one-half to twenty-two and one-half miles were covered each day, the average being fifteen. The total distance traveled was about three hundred and fifteen miles.<sup>10</sup> Twenty-one camps were made, eleven on the

<sup>7</sup> Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, pp. 8-10.

<sup>8</sup> Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, pp. 7-16, 30, 31, 61, 114; Vol. VII, pp. 299, 357.

<sup>10</sup> This number has been obtained by adding together the distances

Iowa side and seven on the soil of Nebraska. Twice the company camped on islands and once on a sand-bar.

The thirteen days of rest were spent in three camps. The first of these was located in Iowa, about ten miles above the mouth of the Platte River. Here the expedition camped for four days and five nights from July 22nd to the 26th inclusive, hoping for a council with the Ottoes and Missouris which, however, did not materialize. The second important camp was located in Washington County, Nebraska, where a stop of four days and four nights—from July 30th to August 2nd inclusive—was made. During this delay a council with the Ottoes and Missouris actually was held. The camp which was occupied for the longest period was located on a sand-bar on the Nebraska side of the river, off Dakota County, Nebraska, and a little below the town of Dakota City. Here the company halted for six days and seven nights, or from August 13th to August 19th inclusive. This camp was near a village of the Mahas, with whom it had been hoped to have a council, but the Mahas were not at home. The expedition continued to wait here for the return of four men sent out on the 7th to bring in two deserters. These men returned on the 18th, accompanied by several chiefs of the Ottoes. During this day, and the next, a council was held—but with Ottoes and not with Mahas as had been hoped.

#### DEATH AND BURIAL

At this camp on the sand-bar, where a week had been spent, Floyd was taken ill. The last entry in his journal was made on the 18th of August. On the 19th he was evidently too sick to write. All of the known journals, except that of Floyd, mention his sickness on the 19th. In Clark's journal we read that "Serjeant Floyd is taken verry bad all at once with a Biliose Chorlick we attempt

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traveled each day from July 18th to August 21st, as those figures are given in the Lewis and Clark journals.

to relieve him without success as yet, he gets worst and we are much allarmed at his Situation, all attention to him.”<sup>11</sup> Sergeant Gass briefly records that “This day sergeant Floyd became very sick and remained so all night. He was seized with a complaint somewhat like a violent cholick.”<sup>12</sup> This entry, since it mentions that Floyd was sick all night, must have been written on the 20th.

The reference in the journal of Whitehouse is still briefer. He simply says: “Sergt. Floyd Taken verry ill this morning with a collick.”<sup>13</sup> This entry is brief, but it shows that Floyd was sick during the morning of the 19th, as well as all that day and night.

As to the nature of Floyd’s sickness all we know is that the various journals describe it as a violent colic or something similar. As to causes we know as little. The only mention of a possible cause known to the writer is to be found in Jacob’s *Life and Times of Patrick Gass*, where that author states that Floyd’s attack was brought on by his having lain down on a sand-bar, while in an overheated condition, after an evening of dancing.<sup>14</sup> The last sentence in the original journal of Captain William Clark for August 18th, reads as follows: “the evening was closed with an extra gill of whiskey and a Dance until 11 o’Clock”.<sup>15</sup> It was customary for the whites to join the Indians in their dances. We do not know for certain that Floyd danced on the evening of the 18th, but we do know that there was a dance and that on the next morning he was taken violently ill.

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<sup>11</sup> Thwaites’s *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 114.

<sup>12</sup> Hosmer’s *Gass’s Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Thwaites’s *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VII, p. 50.

<sup>14</sup> Jacob’s *Life and Times of Patrick Gass*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>15</sup> Thwaites’s *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 112.



In this connection it has occurred to the writer that Floyd had not been in the best of health at any time on the trip. He would naturally keep this very much to himself. And yet we know from his own journal that he was not well during the latter part of July. Under date of July 31st we read in Floyd's journal: "I am very Sick and Has ben for Somtime but have Recoverd my helth again".<sup>16</sup> This can hardly refer to any temporary illness of a day. If it did, Floyd would scarcely say he had been sick for some time. Then, too, if one examines Floyd's journal carefully he will find the entries for the last four days very brief. In all the other journals the entries for these days are at least of average length. This may indicate that Floyd was feeling poorly for several days before he became seriously ill on the 19th. Couple with this his own statement of July 31st, that he had been very sick for some time, and it does not seem unreasonable to conclude, either that he was not very robust or that he was not in the best of condition at any time on this trip.<sup>17</sup>

If these suppositions approximate the truth, it need not appear strange that lying on a sand-bar after an evening of dancing should bring on serious complications. One of the things most difficult to understand in regard to this matter is that an expedition, as thoroughly equipped as this one was for the exploration of a continent, should have gone out upon a journey of 8,000 miles, to be absent from civilization for two years and a half, with-

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<sup>16</sup> Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VII, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> After this paper was read, the writer was privileged to examine Jacob's *Life and Times of Patrick Gass* in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. On the subject of Floyd's health and death, the author has the following to say (p. 43): "Being naturally of a delicate constitution he had embarked on this expedition in the hope of acquiring better health, but the exposure, superadded to imprudence, was too severe, and he had to succumb in spite of all that could be done to save him."

out a physician as a member of the party.<sup>18</sup> If a physician had been along we might now know the cause of Floyd's death — indeed, his life might have been spared. The wonder is that his was the only fatality during the expedition.

Upon leaving their camp of a week the company proceeded, early on the morning of the 20th of August, eleven miles, where they landed for dinner — Whitehouse says at noon; Gass says at two o'clock. The chances are that Gass is correct. Two o'clock is definite, while it is easy to say "noon" for the dinner hour. It might be added that eleven miles was farther than was usually covered before noon. Only once did the expedition travel twenty-two miles in one day while on the western border of Iowa.<sup>19</sup>

It was during this stop for dinner that Floyd died. Neither Clark nor Gass say how soon after landing; while in Whitehouse we read that "Sergeant Charles Floyd expired directly after we landed",<sup>20</sup> that is, shortly after two o'clock. Since this is the only direct statement as to the time of Floyd's death it should be accepted. The company then proceeded to the first bluffs on the Iowa side. Here, with the honors of war, they buried the remains of their late comrade on top of a round bluff at least one hundred feet in height, which stood close to the river bank. A "seeder post" was placed at the head of the grave. According to Clark, who was the only journalist to mention it, this post was inscribed with the words: "Sergt. C. Floyd died here 20th of august 1804".<sup>21</sup> The bluff was named Sergeant Floyd's Bluff. The company then proceeded less than a mile farther and camped for

<sup>18</sup> Compare Wheeler's *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*, Vol. I, p. 46.

<sup>19</sup> This was on August 17th.

<sup>20</sup> Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VII, p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 114.

the night on the Iowa side at the mouth of a small river, to which Floyd's name was also given. Both Floyd's Bluff and the mouth of the Floyd River are within the present corporation limits of Sioux City, Iowa. Three miles below the bluff is situated the little town of Sergeant's Bluff, also named for Floyd. His grave is now marked by a monument commonly called the Floyd Monument; while the land around the grave and monument comprise Floyd Park, one of the public parks of Sioux City. Thus in many ways has the name of Sergeant Charles Floyd been perpetuated.

#### FLOYD'S GRAVE FROM 1804 TO 1857

After 1804 the grave of Sergeant Floyd, located as it was upon the top of a high bluff on the banks of one of America's great waterways, soon became a well-known landmark. Many expeditions stopped to visit the grave, or camped at the foot of the bluff. Numerous prominent travelers, explorers, and scientists make mention of the grave in their journals. A few illustrations may be given.

In 1811 the overland Astorian expedition, under the command of W. P. Hunt, went up the Missouri. John Bradbury, traveler, and Thomas Nuttall, botanist, were members of the company. In his journal Bradbury speaks of passing Floyd's grave on the 15th of May.<sup>22</sup> At the same time the fur-trading expedition, commanded by Manuel Lisa, was on its way up the Missouri. In fact it was racing with the expedition commanded by Hunt. Henry M. Brackenridge the famous traveler accompanied Lisa. On the 19th of May, four days after Bradbury had been there, Brackenridge passed Floyd's grave, concerning which he wrote the following in his journal: "Involuntary tribute was paid to the spot, by the feelings even of the most thoughtless, as we passed by. It is several years since he was buried here; no one has dis-

<sup>22</sup> Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. V, p. 91.

turbed the cross which marks the grave; even the Indians who pass, venerate the place, and often leave a present or offering near it. Brave, adventurous youth! thou art not forgotten — for although thy bones are deposited far from thy native home, in the desert-waste; yet the eternal silence of the plain shall mourn thee, and memory will dwell upon thy grave!”<sup>23</sup> Brackenridge is the only person to call the cedar post a cross. It is possible that he did not climb the bluff to the grave.

In 1832 George Catlin, the celebrated English artist and student of the American Indians, ascended the Missouri. Upon his return he stopped off at Floyd's grave and made two sketches of the bluff. In his series of American paintings these sketches form plates 117 and 118. Two pages in his book on *The North American Indians* are given to the story of Floyd. His description closes with this gushing apostrophe: “Oh, sad and tear-starting contemplation! sole tenant of this stately mound, how solitary thy habitation! here heaven wrested from thee thy ambition, and made thee sleeping monarch of this land of silence. Stranger! Oh, how the mystic web of sympathy links my soul to thee and thy afflictions! I knew thee not, but it was enough; thy tale was told, and I a solitary wanderer through thy land, have stopped to drop familiar tears upon thy grave. . . . Stranger! Adieu. With streaming eyes I leave thee again, and thy fairy land, to peaceful solitude. My pencil has faithfully traced thy beautiful habitation; and long shall live in the world, and familiar, the name of ‘*Floyd's Grave*’.”<sup>24</sup> Catlin further states that the cedar post bore only Floyd's initials.

In May of the following year Maximilian, Prince of Wied, passed the grave and in his book of travels records

<sup>23</sup> Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. VI, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> Catlin's *North American Indians* (Chatto & Windus, 1876), Vol. II, p. 4.

that "A short stick marks the place where he is laid, and has often been renewed by travellers when the fires in the prairie have destroyed it."<sup>25</sup>

Joseph N. Nicollet, discoverer, ascended the Missouri in 1839. Concerning Floyd's grave he made the following record: "We stopped for the night at the foot of the bluff on which is Floyd's Grave: my men replaced the signal, blown down by the winds, which marks the spot and hallows the memory of the brave Sergeant, who died there during Lewis and Clark's Expedition."<sup>26</sup>

Many other prominent characters, including Audubon and Agassiz, passed the grave and paid tribute with their pens.

#### REBURIAL IN 1857

The original grave of Sergeant Floyd was at least one hundred feet above the surface of the Missouri River and probably three hundred feet back from the river bank. But the Missouri is notoriously erratic and this distance did not prove to be a sufficient protection. By 1854, after the lapse of just fifty years, the river had eaten inland almost to the grave. Parker's *Iowa Handbook, for 1856* uttered a warning that if Floyd's remains were not soon rescued they would fall into the Missouri.<sup>27</sup> In the Spring of 1857 a sudden freshet washed away part of the bluff and left the rude coffin of Floyd exposed. Some eye-witnesses testify that one-third of the coffin was in view from the river. The alarm was carried to the then three year old settlement of Sioux City. A committee of citizens was organized, the grave visited and the remains of Sergeant Charles Floyd rescued from their dangerous position, but not until a large number of the bones had been lost. By good fortune the

<sup>25</sup> Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXII, p. 278.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in *first Report of the Floyd Memorial Association*, 1897, p. 14.

<sup>27</sup> Parker's *Iowa Handbook, for 1856*, pp. 128, 129.

skull was recovered although the body had been buried with the head towards the river. The arm bones, among others, were lost.

On May 28, 1857, the remains of Floyd were re-interred, with appropriate ceremonies six hundred feet farther back from the first grave and also from the river, but still on the same bluff. The grave was marked by a head-board and by a foot-board. The original cedar post was not in evidence when the remains were recovered in 1857. The river continued to eat into the bluff until the site of the original grave is now in the air a hundred feet above the surface of the river.

At the time of the re-burial in 1857 there was some agitation in favor of erecting a monument to suitably mark the grave of Sergeant Floyd, but the movement came to naught.<sup>22</sup>

#### FLOYD'S JOURNAL

One of the most interesting chapters in the story of Sergeant Charles Floyd is the one which concerns his journal. This rare volume is now in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. How it came there will be explained. During the last week of October, 1804, the Lewis and Clark Expedition reached the Mandans in North Dakota. Here they were compelled to go into winter quarters. In the following April a barge was sent down the Missouri with dispatches, letters, etc. In his official letter to President Jefferson, Captain Lewis wrote: "I have sent a journal kept by one of the Sergeants, to Capt Stoddard, my agent at St. Louis, in order as much as possible, to multiply the chances of saving something."<sup>23</sup> This was without doubt the journal of Charles Floyd, since Sergeants Ordway, Pryor,

<sup>22</sup> *First Report of the Floyd Memorial Association*, 1897, pp. 14-18.

<sup>23</sup> Letter of Captain Lewis to President Jefferson, written from Fort Mandan, April 7, 1805. Quoted in *Thwaites's Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VII, pp. 318-321.

and Gass, would naturally retain their journals until the end of the journey. The same boat which carried this journal to St. Louis also bore letters and tokens addressed to William Clark's relatives at Louisville, Kentucky. It is inferred that Floyd's journal was sent to his father in Jefferson County, Kentucky, at the same time and in the same manner that Captain Clark's letters and presents were sent to his relatives in Louisville.<sup>20</sup>

In after years the journal of Floyd was acquired for the Wisconsin Historical Society by Dr. Lyman C. Draper upon one of his collecting tours through Kentucky. In February, 1893, it was discovered by Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, among hitherto neglected papers of Dr. Draper. Whether Dr. Draper knew that he had in his possession a Lewis and Clark journal is, I believe, unknown.<sup>21</sup>

The new journal was read on April 25, 1894, before the American Antiquarian Society at Boston, and later in the year was published with an introduction by Dr. James Davie Butler in the annual *Proceedings* of that organization.<sup>21</sup>

Owing to his untimely death, Floyd's record is necessarily the briefest of all the journals kept on the expedition. The first entry was made on May 13th and the last on August 18th, two days before the death of the Sergeant. These dates span a period of ninety-nine days.

The journal of Floyd was written in a note-book bound in marble boards. It covers fifty-three pages, each  $5\frac{7}{8}$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in size. The insides of the cover and the fly leaves are also written upon. Floyd wrote in a large coarse hand, easily distinguishable. From June 22nd to the 26th inclusive the writing is partly in the hand of Captain William Clark. On June 25th and 26th en-

<sup>20</sup> Butler's *The New-Found Journal of Charles Floyd*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>21</sup> It was also published separately as a reprint. See note 30 above.

tries were made by a third person.<sup>22</sup> The reason for these entries by persons other than Floyd is, no doubt, to be found in the closing words under the date of June 25th.<sup>23</sup> Here we read "my hand is painfull", in the writing of an unknown person. There is no hint as to the cause of the pain, yet the four words are enough to tell us that he had suffered some injury sufficient to cause him to seek aid in writing his record during this period of five days. The spelling and punctuation of the journal are not above reproach, and yet in these respects it compares very favorably with the journals of Lewis and Clark. It is valuable as a check upon the other journals which have been published and, indeed, throws new light upon a number of points — in addition to the fact that it enables us to settle some matters heretofore in dispute between the other journals. Its publication added greatly to the reputation of its author.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF THE GRAVE IN 1895

The settlement of northwest Iowa began about 1850. The first railroad reached Sioux City in 1868. Gradually the Missouri River ceased to be the great highway of traffic and communication. The romantic period gave way to the commercial. The head-board and the foot-board placed on Floyd's grave in 1857, after the re-burial of that year, rotted down. Vegetation grew upon the grave, obliterating its outlines, and the location was lost.

The discovery of the journal in 1893 and its publication in 1894 revived interest in Floyd's grave. Sioux City's reputation was at stake and her old settlers bestirred themselves. During the spring of 1895 several attempts made to locate the exact site of the grave of 1857 failed before it was actually found on May 30th by

<sup>22</sup> Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VII, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> See *Floyd's Journal* in Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. VII, p. 14.



three prominent citizens. A larger number of witnesses being desired, the grave was not opened until June 1, 1895, when in the presence of nineteen interested and responsible parties the grave was entered and the remains identified. A careful record was kept of the events of this day. Fourteen men who had been present at the reburial in 1857 signed a formal certificate covering the facts and identifying the grave as that of Sergeant Charles Floyd. The remains of Floyd were taken in charge and shortly placed in two large earthenware urns and sealed up for the purpose of better preservation.

Those persons present at the identification of the grave on June 6, 1895, were determined that it should not again be lost. Arrangements were made for a memorial meeting to be held on August 20, 1895. On the appointed day, which will be recognized as the ninety-first anniversary of the death of Floyd, before a large concourse of people who were addressed by prominent speakers, the grave was opened, the urns containing the bones were deposited, the grave re-filled, and a large stone slab, suitably inscribed, was placed flat upon the ground covering the entire grave.<sup>24</sup>

#### THE FLOYD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION AND THE ERECTION OF THE MONUMENT

The events of August 20, 1895, were important, not alone because the grave was appropriately marked, but because a new impetus was given to the purpose of erecting a monument which should still more fittingly commemorate the services and death of Sergeant Floyd. We have already remarked that this matter was agitated in 1857 at the time of the first re-burial of the remains, and that this early movement was fruitless.

The present monument, dedicated in 1901, was erected by the Floyd Memorial Association after years of

<sup>24</sup> *First Report of the Floyd Memorial Association, 1897*, pp. 21-27.

faithful endeavor. The first formal step in the organization of this association was taken on June 6, 1895, at the time of the re-discovery and identification of the grave after it had been lost for several years. The object of the association was two-fold. Its immediate purpose was to mark the grave in a more definite manner: its ultimate aim was to erect a monument. An executive committee appointed at the grave on June 6, 1895, was authorized to arrange for future meetings, to perfect an organization, and especially to plan memorial services to be held on August 20th. At these services the association accomplished its immediate purpose of permanently marking the grave by formally placing the slab already mentioned. Articles of incorporation adopted three days earlier were signed by many persons upon this occasion.<sup>25</sup>

The organization now entered upon its final stage. The ultimate object of the association became its one great purpose. By-laws providing for regular and special meetings were adopted, the membership was increased, and, in order to stimulate interest in the undertaking, a well compiled report of fifty-eight pages was printed and widely distributed.

In 1899 Congress appropriated \$5,000 and in the following year the State legislature of Iowa voted a like amount to be applied toward the erection of a monument. Sioux City and Woodbury County made appropriations. Private subscriptions were received. Valuable services were rendered gratis by the railroads and by the office force of the United States Engineer located at Sioux City. The total cost or value of the monument in money and services rendered amounts to nearly \$20,000.

The monument was built of white stone in the form of an Egyptian obelisk. In height it measures one hundred feet, but standing as it does upon Floyd's Bluff with

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<sup>25</sup> *First Report of the Floyd Memorial Association, 1897*, pp. 27-38, 43, 44, 55-58.

its base one hundred and twenty-five feet above the river, it appears even higher. The foundation was begun on May 29, 1900, and the corner-stone laid on August 20th of the same year. The capstone which was placed on April 22, 1901, crowned not only the monument of Sergeant Floyd but also the work of the Floyd Memorial Association with brilliant success. The dedication ceremonies were held upon Memorial Day, 1901. Thus the name of Sergeant Charles Floyd will be preserved to posterity.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> See the *Second Report of the Floyd Memorial Association*, 1901.

**PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE  
SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MIS-  
SISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION**

**(St. Louis, Missouri, June 17, 18, 19, 1909)**



## THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY WALTER B. DOUGLAS

[Governor Herbert S. Hadley of Missouri, who was scheduled for this address, having been prevented from attending the meeting on account of illness, Mr. Walter B. Douglas, Vice President of the Missouri Historical Society, gave a brief address of welcome of which no report was taken.]

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## THE RESPONSE TO THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY ORIN G. LIBBY

On behalf of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, I thank the citizens of this place and especially the members of the Missouri Historical Society for the very cordial welcome which we have received at their hands. While we feel that the meeting here is somewhat of an experiment both for us and for you, of one thing we are certain — The Mississippi Valley Historical Association has passed the stage of experiment and has come to have a place to fill and a work to do. The Mississippi Valley is large enough and has sufficiently varied and important interests to demand and enjoy proper recognition. What its conservation problems are we shall hear from the gentleman who is to make the principal address this evening. Physiographically it is individual; biologically it is distinct — we might almost say unique — among all the regions of the continent. The ethnological and archæological problems of the Valley call for new application of old principles; for here is a world of new phenomena clearly differentiated from what has hitherto been observed.

But the greatest popular interest will ever be associated with the history of this wonderful region. Though the white man has occupied it but a few years, events of prime importance to the human race have transpired within its limits. The lure of its boundless wealth and the fascination of the unknown in its limitless plains and mighty rivers drew La Salle and Verendrye and a long line of illustrious contemporaries and successors to spend their lives and fortunes in "laborious days" trying to solve its mysteries and to subdue its untamed savagery. The story of the explorer, the buffalo hunter, the trapper, the fur-trader, the gold seeker, and the Indian fighter of the Mississippi Valley, has not yet been written. When this marvelous chapter of our national history is completed and there has been added also the equally wonderful chapter on western settlement, so that we may realize with what national birth throes our new Commonwealths have come into existence, we shall never be able again to read with the same interest the lesser tales of John Smith, Miles Standish, and Roger Williams, nor believe with quite the same old fervor in the fundamental and saving virtues of Plymouth Rock. I say this with no desire to disparage the record of the East — which I am proud to own as my ancestral home — but in simple justice to the noble men and women of the West. I say it, too, because I believe that here is the real center of our national life and that here is to be the twentieth century battle ground upon which will be fought out the great questions that confront our nation to-day.

Historians are coming to see and to state more clearly year by year, in a great variety of forms, that basic fact in our development that we first became a nation and not a group of petty sovereignties at the time when our citizens had entered, consciously, into the great heritage of the Mississippi Valley. It was this consciousness of unbounded opportunity and immensity of elemental

force so clearly manifested to them that drew the American people and the foreign immigrant out of the old environment into a world so vast that it became impossible to live on any longer as they had been wont to do. They felt themselves standing, as it were, on the verge of a far-stretching ocean whose wave beats thrilled them with the awful mystery of power without bound or bar. Puritan theocratic systems, Virginian aristocracy, old world pettiness and self-sufficiency, all vanished like fog before the sun; national self-hood was ours from that moment.

If to Jefferson's prophetic vision, we owe the Mississippi Valley in its entirety, at least we must acknowledge that Andrew Jackson first taught its people the irresistible might of western democracy; while to Abraham Lincoln we ascribe the wise leadership in the grandest achievement of the West, the healing of the brothers' strife.

Should the Mississippi Valley Historical Association desire to find its place in this great section and do work worthy of its opportunities here, its members must take a generous view of their task. The characteristics of our life, the peculiar phases of industrial growth in this section, the political, social, and educational problems in these great cities that stretch east and west, and north and south across the Valley, all these and many others present in part or in the whole a most fascinating field for the historian, the sociologist, the educator, or the political scientist. But in doing one thing well, we can not afford to lose sight of the general plan, nor in working in the large can we sneer at the painful toil required to finish completely something comparatively insignificant. We must be tolerant enough to take into our field of vision the planetesimal theory of the universe and the vanishing language of a well nigh extinct Indian tribe or the facts as to the location of a trading post on the Missouri River. We must bear in mind, also, that



American history has already passed its purely New England phase, and that the first tentative approaches have been made toward writing history broad enough to include some of the national features characteristic of Mississippi Valley development.

Our function, as members of this Association, must be to bring out and reiterate with unmistakable emphasis the many lines of progress and experiment peculiarly our own. The period of Mississippi Valley colonial history has not wholly passed; our Indian question is not solved; in many States great masses of foreign population lie all unassimilated; and differentiated industry is not yet traditional amongst us nor is capital yet fully intrenched in our local politics. These and many other nation-making processes are going on all about us here; to record them is still our privilege and our peculiar province. For this reason I am inclined to maintain that we are, and must yet for some time continue to be, more interested in American history than in European or Ancient history. This may be provincial and temporary, but it is still undeniable. Without pretense or apology, therefore, let us not neglect our own national and local records, be they what they may. History, like charity, for us, at least, should begin at home. In this way, and in no other, as I see it, will it be possible to produce in permanent form a complete and well-rounded national history, the writing of which, in friendly emulation and in coöperative labor, should be one of the well-considered goals constantly before the members of this Association.

## THE CONSERVATION OF THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

BY ERNEST M. POLLARD

The natural resources of the Mississippi Valley are varied and of almost inestimable value. The forest and mineral resources, and the waterways for use in the generation of power as well as for navigation, are of great value. Any one of these resources is of sufficient importance to occupy an evening's discussion. The one great resource of the Mississippi Valley, however, the one that overshadows all others in importance is that of the farm. The natural resources of the soil are greater than all others combined. The Mississippi Valley comprises by far the largest portion of the great agricultural belt of the United States. From the Mississippi Valley comes a very large per cent — about seventy-five per cent — of all the products of the farms.

In the discussion to-night I desire to confine myself to the resources of the farms of this great Valley. The total production last year of all the farms of the United States was worth approximately \$8,000,000,000. The total production of all the farms, of all the forests, of all the mines, and of all the factories of the United States last year was worth approximately \$26,000,000,000. Over thirty per cent of this amount was produced on the farms. Of the eight billion dollars worth of farm products last year, aside from cotton, about eighty per cent came from the Mississippi Valley. Thus you can readily see that the subject of my address is one of great consequence not only to the people who inhabit this Valley but to the whole United States. The basis of the

future prosperity of the Republic rests upon agriculture. The prosperity of the farmer means the prosperity of the Nation. The toiler in the factory, in the mine, and in the forest must look to the farmer for his food supply, as well as for a market for a large per cent of the products of his labor.

Since the prosperity of the Nation is dependent upon the prosperity of the farmer, it is well for us to take an inventory of the resources of the farm, endeavoring to determine, if possible, whether these resources are being properly conserved. The American Republic is still in its early youth, if not in its infancy, when viewed from the standpoint of the life of nations. It is scarcely three centuries since the first settlements were made in North America; and yet within one hundred miles of these first settlements in old Virginia, what was once good farm land can to-day be bought for ten dollars an acre. This same land at one time sold for from sixty to seventy dollars an acre. Farm lands as a rule in those portions of the United States that were settled by the early pioneers in the North Atlantic and New England States are much cheaper to-day than they were fifty or even twenty-five years ago. Many farms in these States that were once productive, supporting large families in comfort and with a moderate degree of prosperity, are to-day abandoned.

One of the problems which to-day confront the Department of Agriculture of the United States, as well as the State experiment stations of this region, is the reclamation of these farms to agriculture. The production of these farms has been on the decline even in the face of the application of millions of dollars worth of commercial fertilizers. Indeed, without the use of these commercial fertilizers profitable agriculture in this region would be practically unknown. The small State of South Carolina alone expended last year for commercial fer-

tilizers about \$10,000,000. While I have not the figures at hand to show the value of fertilizers used by other States in this region, I think it is safe to say that not many of them use less than the State of South Carolina. Millions of dollars worth of commercial fertilizers are used every year in this region upon impoverished soils to make farming at all profitable.

Moving westward from the north Atlantic States into the great Mississippi Valley we find history beginning to repeat itself. Excluding those lands that have been reclaimed by the drainage of swamp lands in the eastern portion of the Mississippi Valley, which were first brought under cultivation, we find the fertility of the soil much impaired. This is especially true of those lands that have been given over to the production of cereals. Bear in mind that the moment you leave the western slope of the Alleghanies and approach the Mississippi Valley the soils are similar to those found in the interior. Nor should you forget that in the eastern part of this region, notably in Ohio and in Indiana, the lands have been under cultivation for less than a century. The production of the wheat fields of the Northwest has declined at least one-half in the last twenty-five years. The question arises whether the continuous growing of grain crops throughout the Mississippi Valley will not result in the decline of the productiveness of the farms, as it has done in the Atlantic and New England States, as well as in Indiana and Ohio and in the wheat growing States of the Northwest. If the same methods of cultivation are followed here that have been practiced there, the same results will be inevitable.

Cyril G. Hopkins, Professor of Agronomy and Chemistry of the University of Illinois experiment station, says: "We must not deceive ourselves with general statistics which show some increase in average crop yields in some States. Thus, in the new State of Illinois

the average yield of corn has increased in the past ten years, but this does not prove that Illinois soils are growing richer. During the past ten years the annual corn area of Illinois has increased from seven million acres to nine million acres, and the added two million acres are the richest black soils of the State, reclaimed by dredge ditching and the tile drainage; while the seven million acres are producing smaller crops than ten years ago."

Conditions described by Professor Hopkins in Illinois, I take it, can be found in all the States of the Mississippi Valley. We are sometimes reminded that in Germany, on soils that have been under cultivation for several centuries, more wheat is produced to the acre than in the United States. We are also reminded that the same conditions prevail in England, in France, in Belgium, in Holland, and in Denmark. For a moment let us examine the trade reports of one or two of these countries. Germany produces one hundred and twenty-five million bushels of wheat. In addition to this she imports seventy-five million bushels of wheat, forty million bushels of corn, and about one billion pounds of oil cake, and other food stuffs from which manures are made. Great care is taken that this manure is returned to the farms. Her exports are two billion pounds of sugar, and other manufactured articles that contain little or no plant food. Denmark produces four million bushels of wheat; she imports five million bushels of wheat, fifteen million bushels of corn, eight hundred million pounds of oil cake, and other food stuffs, phosphates, etc. She exports one hundred and seventy-five million pounds of butter and other manufactured products that contain no plant food. What is true of Germany and Denmark is also true of other European countries which show larger yields of cereals than is shown by American farms. These countries not only consume the food products from their own farms, but import hundreds of millions of dollars worth

of food products from our farms that are rich in nitrogen, potassium and phosphorus. These are the elements that constitute the plant food for our growing crops. One of the causes of the decline in the fertility of the American farm is due to the fact that we are continually taking from the land all we can possibly get out of the soil and putting nothing back. We have been drawing upon nature's bank account without any thought of a possibility of over-drawing this account. Nature has indeed been kind and generous in cashing our checks. Here and there, however, we find instances even in this rich and fertile valley where nature has begun to discount these checks.

We have heard much of late about the conservation of our natural resources, about the conservation of our minerals, and our forests; but in my opinion the one question that concerns the people of this Valley more than any other is the conservation of the fertility of the soil. If the people of the Mississippi Valley desire to escape the necessity of the application of millions upon millions of dollars worth of commercial fertilizers, not in order to enable the farmer to remain prosperous but to keep the wolf from the door, we must profit by the mistakes of our neighbors to the east of us and begin to conserve the fertility of these wondrously rich prairies.

Let us take an inventory of the plant food contained in our soils. There are three chief elements of plant food in our soils that have a recognized market value — nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium. The inventory of the natural resources of the soil must include these three elements of plant food. According to a statement emanating from the geographical survey, from two thousand one hundred and ten samples of soil of the earth's crust, taken from various parts of the United States, there is sufficient potassium in the first seven inches of an acre of land to produce one hundred bushels of corn every year for 2,590

years, providing the corn stalks are returned to the soil. Potassium is one of the abundant elements of our soil that are apparently inexhaustible. While the supply of potassium is almost without limit, we find that the same is not true of nitrogen and phosphorus. There is no more nitrogen and phosphorus in the first seven inches of the acre of soil than would be required to produce one hundred bushels of corn continuously for the full lifetime of one man. Without the presence of nitrogen and phosphorus in abundant quantities, it is impossible to produce large or even fair crops of grain.

Scientists tell us that there is enough nitrogen in the atmosphere above every acre of land to produce 100 bushels of corn a year for 700,000 years. The agricultural scientist has discovered that it is not difficult to draw upon this almost inexhaustible supply of nitrogen to supply plant food for the growing crops. By the planting of legumes — clover and alfalfa — it is possible to restore nitrogen to the soil. While the farmer is growing a profitable crop of these legumes, he is at the same time refertilizing the soil. While alfalfa and clover consume more nitrogen in plant food than any other crop, yet a chemical analysis of a field made just before planting into clover and alfalfa, and another analysis made four or five years later show that the nitrogen content of the soil has increased materially.

To preserve the phosphorus element of the soil is more difficult, since there is not an inexhaustible supply near at hand to draw from as in the case of nitrogen. Leguminous crops are rich both in nitrogen and phosphorus. In three and one-half tons of clover and alfalfa hay there is as much phosphorus and forty pounds more nitrogen than in one hundred bushels of corn. If the crop is fed to live stock on the farm, one-fourth of the nitrogen is taken up in the flesh and bone of the animals

and three-fourths passes off in the solid and liquid excrements.

Where this excrement or manure is again returned to the field it carries not only nitrogen but phosphorus and potassium to the soil. The profligate waste of manure throughout the grain belt is appalling. Very few farmers practice saving the manure and returning it to the soil. Agriculture as generally practiced throughout this Valley robs the soil of both nitrogen and phosphorus and returns very little of either in any form. The average value of a fresh ton of farm manure is \$2.25. There are millions upon millions of tons of this rich farm manure going to waste each year, which ought by all means to be returned to the soil. Unless the farmer of the Mississippi Valley discontinues this practice of year after year taking from the soil these valuable plant foods without ever replenishing it, he can expect a gradual decline in its productiveness.

During the last ten years there has been a great awakening, among the more progressive agriculturists, to the importance of preserving the fertility of the soil of our farms. The United States Department of Agriculture, working in conjunction with the agricultural experiment stations of the various States of the Union, has done much toward disseminating useful and valuable information among the farmers of the country. The first step in this movement was taken in a rotation of crops. Prior to the last ten years it was not uncommon for farmers to continue planting the same crop year after year. There was little if any rotation of crops, even in the cereals. I know farms in Nebraska that have produced corn continuously on the same land for forty years. It is little wonder that these farms are being worn out. It was this system of farming that reduced the yield of the wheat fields of the Northwest from thirty and forty bushels to the now lower 15 and fifteen bushels.



Through the impetus emanating from the agricultural colleges and experiment stations farmers have been taught and are beginning to practice not only the rotation of grain crops but the permitting of the land to rest by being planted in legumes. While the average farmer does not understand the scientific process through which the soil passes in the restoration of its fertility through a rotation of crops with legumes, yet he is beginning to understand that such a system of farming increases the productiveness of his farm to a very marked degree. The more progressive and up-to-date farmers in the Mississippi Valley are beginning to adopt this method of farming. Not only does a rotation of legumes with grain crops increase the fertility of the soil, but the introduction of humus and other vegetable matter which retards erosion — which is contributing freely to the exhaustion of the fertility of our soil — also has beneficial effects. The application of farm manure aids also in the prevention of erosion. The practice that is common in some parts of the Valley of selling all of the grain at the elevator ought to be discouraged. Through this system of farming very little manure accumulates to be returned to the farm. No opportunity is afforded of rotating grain crops with legumes to preserve the fertility of the soil. Says Professor Hopkins, of the University of Illinois:

A large crop of corn, 100 bushels to the acre, will contain about 100 pounds of nitrogen in the grain and 48 pounds in the stalks, 17 pounds of phosphorus in the grain and 6 pounds in the stalks, 19 pounds of potassium in the grain and 52 pounds in the stalks. Quite similar relations exist between the grain and straw of other crops.

Now, with these facts in mind, it is plain to see that a system of farming by which the grain is sold and only the stalks and straw kept on the farm and returned to the soil carries off in the grain much of the nitrogen and phosphorus. In both of these elements most soils are more or less deficient, while the potassium, of which the normal soil contains an almost inex-

haustible supply, enough in the first 7 inches for 100 bushels of corn per acre for seventeen centuries, is largely returned in the straw and stalks.

It is, of course, apparent that such a system of farming cannot long be continued without impairing the productiveness of the farm. In my opinion, we should return to the old New England rule, that is, sell nothing from the farm but the finished product. It is gratifying to note that dairying is gaining a foothold throughout the great farming belt. Dairying and the raising of hogs and cattle to consume the grain on the farm is not only of itself profitable, but it results in a supply of great quantities of rich farm-yard manure, which, if returned to the soil, with the rotation of our grain crops with legumes will preserve our farms as productive and as rich as they were in their virgin state. It is estimated that there are something like 60 million acres of swamp land in the humid portion of the Mississippi Valley that are capable of being reclaimed by ditching or tiling. A very large portion of this land was ceded by Congress to the various States on condition that they would bring this land under cultivation. A comparatively small amount of this land has been reclaimed. In my opinion the States ought to take hold of this problem and fulfil their obligations to the government. I believe that it is a mistake for the States to await the action of Congress. The government ought not to interfere or ought not to participate in any work which the States themselves can do just as well. The people of Indiana, Illinois, and Minnesota have set a good example in this work, and I trust that the rest of the States in this Valley will take up this problem and solve it each in its own way. Here is a great natural resource capable of supporting hundreds of thousands of families, and adding hundreds of millions of dollars of wealth to the Nation. There are also many millions of acres of land in the arid and semi-

arid portions of the Mississippi Valley that can be reclaimed either by irrigation or by the introduction of cultural methods of farming that are especially adapted to this region. The United States Department of Agriculture has established a series of experiment stations throughout the country from Canada on the north to Mexico on the south, covering the whole of the semi-arid region.

Successful agriculture in this country is as yet uncertain. Information secured, however, from these experiment stations will, I feel confident, result in the introduction not only of new systems of cultivation but also of new crops that will prove successful in this region. About ten years ago the United States Department of Agriculture introduced Durham or macaroni wheat, which matures with a very small amount of rainfall. This wheat is being quite generally grown in this semi-arid area and with the best of success. The value of this crop last year was forty millions of dollars. A new species of alfalfa has also been introduced which thrives on a small amount of rainfall. Experts from the United States Department of Agriculture are now scouring the cold barren regions of Siberia and the desert plains of Prussia for new plants that will be adapted to the semi-arid plains of the West and Northwest. The cultural problems and the crop species problems that are now being worked out in this chain of experiment stations will in my opinion result in the reclamation of practically all of the semi-arid region.

The completion of the great irrigation projects the Government now has under way, looking to the conservation and utilization of the water resulting from the snow melting in the Rocky Mountains, in the reclamation of the arid plains on the Eastern slope of these mountains will furnish comfortable, happy homes for hundreds of thousands of families of our people. I think there

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ests are depleted, it takes at least half a century to grow another crop of timber; but under proper methods of tillage and farm management the productiveness of the farm can be conserved year after year without any appreciable reduction in its productiveness.

Fortunate, indeed, is the man who owns a farm in this great Mississippi Valley. In that farm, if its natural resources are properly conserved, he has an estate that he can leave to his children and his children's children without impairment of its productiveness. Not only that, the man who owns a farm in this beautiful Valley, if he be but enterprising and thrifty, has the opportunity to make for himself the ideal home and the ideal place to raise a family, with plenty of room, plenty of sunshine, plenty of genuine comfort, independent of all the world, and in the midst of nature with all of its beauty and grandeur. I have in mind a farm home in south-eastern Nebraska not far from where I live that to my mind is the ideal American home. This home is situated on one of Nebraska's best farms. A two-story house, furnished with all modern improvements, having its own water works, hot water heat, acetylene gas for lighting, and a beautiful lawn in front, kept closely mown, and a flower garden in the background with all kinds of beautiful roses and other flowering plants. You can visit this home any time during the summer and you will see a bouquet of the most beautiful flowers on the center table, filling the home with its fragrance. An orchard is near at hand, with blackberry and raspberry patches and a strawberry including peaches, cherries, plums, pears, and apples, bed near by. The visitor invited to dine with this family finds a table laden with Nebraska's most luscious fruits. A family of children is grown to manhood and womanhood. The father and mother are now spending a life of ease in the midst of these beautiful surroundings, enjoying the comforts of old age. Will anyone gainsay that

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the average yield of corn has increased in the past ten years, but this does not prove that Illinois soils are growing richer. During the past ten years the annual corn area of Illinois has increased from seven million acres to nine million acres, and the added two million acres are the richest black soils of the State, reclaimed by dredge ditching and the tile drainage; while the seven million acres are producing smaller crops than ten years ago."

Conditions described by Professor Hopkins in Illinois, I take it, can be found in all the States of the Mississippi Valley. We are sometimes reminded that in Germany, on soils that have been under cultivation for several centuries, more wheat is produced to the acre than in the United States. We are also reminded that the same conditions prevail in England, in France, in Belgium, in Holland, and in Denmark. For a moment let us examine the trade reports of one or two of these countries. Germany produces one hundred and twenty-five million bushels of wheat. In addition to this she imports seventy-five million bushels of wheat, forty million bushels of corn, and about one billion pounds of oil cake, and other food stuffs from which manures are made. Great care is taken that this manure is returned to the farms. Her exports are two billion pounds of sugar, and other manufactured articles that contain little or no plant food. Denmark produces four million bushels of wheat; she imports five million bushels of wheat, fifteen million bushels of corn, eight hundred million pounds of oil cake, and other food stuffs, phosphates, etc. She exports one hundred and seventy-five million pounds of butter and other manufactured products that contain no plant food. What is true of Germany and Denmark is also true of other European countries which show larger yields of cereals than is shown by American farms. These countries not only consume the food products from their own farms, but import hundreds of millions of dollars worth

of food products from our farms that are rich in nitrogen, potassium and phosphorus. These are the elements that constitute the plant food for our growing crops. One of the causes of the decline in the fertility of the American farm is due to the fact that we are continually taking from the land all we can possibly get out of the soil and putting nothing back. We have been drawing upon nature's bank account without any thought of a possibility of over-drawing this account. Nature has indeed been kind and generous in cashing our checks. Here and there, however, we find instances even in this rich and fertile valley where nature has begun to discount these checks.

We have heard much of late about the conservation of our natural resources, about the conservation of our minerals, and our forests; but in my opinion the one question that concerns the people of this Valley more than any other is the conservation of the fertility of the soil. If the people of the Mississippi Valley desire to escape the necessity of the application of millions upon millions of dollars worth of commercial fertilizers, not in order to enable the farmer to remain prosperous but to keep the wolf from the door, we must profit by the mistakes of our neighbors to the east of us and begin to conserve the fertility of these wondrously rich prairies.

Let us take an inventory of the plant food contained in our soils. There are three chief elements of plant food in our soils that have a recognized market value — nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium. The inventory of the natural resources of the soil must include these three elements of plant food. According to a statement emanating from the geographical survey, from two thousand one hundred and ten samples of soil of the earth's crust, taken from various parts of the United States, there is sufficient potassium in the first seven inches of an acre of land to produce one hundred bushels of corn every year for 2,590

years, providing the corn stalks are returned to the soil. Potassium is one of the abundant elements of our soil that are apparently inexhaustible. While the supply of potassium is almost without limit, we find that the same is not true of nitrogen and phosphorus. There is no more nitrogen and phosphorus in the first seven inches of the acre of soil than would be required to produce one hundred bushels of corn continuously for the full lifetime of one man. Without the presence of nitrogen and phosphorus in abundant quantities, it is impossible to produce large or even fair crops of grain.

Scientists tell us that there is enough nitrogen in the atmosphere above every acre of land to produce 100 bushels of corn a year for 700,000 years. The agricultural scientist has discovered that it is not difficult to draw upon this almost inexhaustible supply of nitrogen to supply plant food for the growing crops. By the planting of legumes — clover and alfalfa — it is possible to restore nitrogen to the soil. While the farmer is growing a profitable crop of these legumes, he is at the same time refertilizing the soil. While alfalfa and clover consume more nitrogen in plant food than any other crop, yet a chemical analysis of a field made just before planting into clover and alfalfa, and another analysis made four or five years later show that the nitrogen content of the soil has increased materially.

To preserve the phosphorus element of the soil is more difficult, since there is not an inexhaustible supply near at hand to draw from as in the case of nitrogen. Leguminous crops are rich both in nitrogen and phosphorus. In three and one-half tons of clover and alfalfa hay there is as much phosphorus and forty pounds more nitrogen than in one hundred bushels of corn. If the crop is fed to live stock on the farm, one-fourth of the nitrogen is taken up in the flesh and bone of the animals

and three-fourths passes off in the solid and liquid excrements.

Where this excrement or manure is again returned to the field it carries not only nitrogen but phosphorus and potassium to the soil. The profligate waste of manure throughout the grain belt is appalling. Very few farmers practice saving the manure and returning it to the soil. Agriculture as generally practiced throughout this Valley robs the soil of both nitrogen and phosphorus and returns very little of either in any form. The average value of a fresh ton of farm manure is \$2.25. There are millions upon millions of tons of this rich farm manure going to waste each year, which ought by all means to be returned to the soil. Unless the farmer of the Mississippi Valley discontinues this practice of year after year taking from the soil these valuable plant foods without ever replenishing it, he can expect a gradual decline in its productiveness.

During the last ten years there has been a great awakening, among the more progressive agriculturists, to the importance of preserving the fertility of the soil of our farms. The United States Department of Agriculture, working in conjunction with the agricultural experiment stations of the various States of the Union, has done much toward disseminating useful and valuable information among the farmers of the country. The first step in this movement was found in a rotation of crops. Prior to the last ten years it was not uncommon for farmers to continue planting the same crop year after year. There was little if any rotation of crops, even in the cereals. I know farms in Nebraska that have produced corn continuously on the same land for forty years. It is little wonder that these farms are being worn out. It was this system of farming that reduced the yield of the wheat fields of the Northwest from thirty and forty bushels to the acre down to ten and fifteen bushels.

Through the impetus emanating from the agricultural colleges and experiment stations farmers have been taught and are beginning to practice not only the rotation of grain crops but the permitting of the land to rest by being planted in legumes. While the average farmer does not understand the scientific process through which the soil passes in the restoration of its fertility through a rotation of crops with legumes, yet he is beginning to understand that such a system of farming increases the productiveness of his farm to a very marked degree. The more progressive and up-to-date farmers in the Mississippi Valley are beginning to adopt this method of farming. Not only does a rotation of legumes with grain crops increase the fertility of the soil, but the introduction of humus and other vegetable matter which retards erosion — which is contributing freely to the exhaustion of the fertility of our soil — also has beneficial effects. The application of farm manure aids also in the prevention of erosion. The practice that is common in some parts of the Valley of selling all of the grain at the elevator ought to be discouraged. Through this system of farming very little manure accumulates to be returned to the farm. No opportunity is afforded of rotating grain crops with legumes to preserve the fertility of the soil. Says Professor Hopkins, of the University of Illinois:

A large crop of corn, 100 bushels to the acre, will contain about 100 pounds of nitrogen in the grain and 48 pounds in the stalks, 17 pounds of phosphorus in the grain and 6 pounds in the stalks, 19 pounds of potassium in the grain and 52 pounds in the stalks. Quite similar relations exist between the grain and straw of other crops.

Now, with these facts in mind, it is plain to see that a system of farming by which the grain is sold and only the stalks and straw kept on the farm and returned to the soil carries off in the grain much of the nitrogen and phosphorus. In both of these elements most soils are more or less deficient, while the potassium, of which the normal soil contains an almost inex-

haustible supply, enough in the first 7 inches for 100 bushels of corn per acre for seventeen centuries, is largely returned in the straw and stalks.

It is, of course, apparent that such a system of farming cannot long be continued without impairing the productiveness of the farm. In my opinion, we should return to the old New England rule, that is, sell nothing from the farm but the finished product. It is gratifying to note that dairying is gaining a foothold throughout the great farming belt. Dairying and the raising of hogs and cattle to consume the grain on the farm is not only of itself profitable, but it results in a supply of great quantities of rich farm-yard manure, which, if returned to the soil, with the rotation of our grain crops with legumes will preserve our farms as productive and as rich as they were in their virgin state. It is estimated that there are something like 60 million acres of swamp land in the humid portion of the Mississippi Valley that are capable of being reclaimed by ditching or tiling. A very large portion of this land was ceded by Congress to the various States on condition that they would bring this land under cultivation. A comparatively small amount of this land has been reclaimed. In my opinion the States ought to take hold of this problem and fulfil their obligations to the government. I believe that it is a mistake for the States to await the action of Congress. The government ought not to interfere or ought not to participate in any work which the States themselves can do just as well. The people of Indiana, Illinois, and Minnesota have set a good example in this work, and I trust that the rest of the States in this Valley will take up this problem and solve it each in its own way. Here is a great natural resource capable of supporting hundreds of thousands of families, and adding hundreds of millions of dollars of wealth to the Nation. There are also many millions of acres of land in the arid and semi-

arid portions of the Mississippi Valley that can be reclaimed either by irrigation or by the introduction of cultural methods of farming that are especially adapted to this region. The United States Department of Agriculture has established a series of experiment stations throughout the country from Canada on the north to Mexico on the south, covering the whole of the semi-arid region.

Successful agriculture in this country is as yet uncertain. Information secured, however, from these experiment stations will, I feel confident, result in the introduction not only of new systems of cultivation but also of new crops that will prove successful in this region. About ten years ago the United States Department of Agriculture introduced Durham or macaroni wheat, which matures with a very small amount of rainfall. This wheat is being quite generally grown in this semi-arid area and with the best of success. The value of this crop last year was forty millions of dollars. A new species of alfalfa has also been introduced which thrives on a small amount of rainfall. Experts from the United States Department of Agriculture are now scouring the cold barren regions of Siberia and the desert plains of Prussia for new plants that will be adapted to the semi-arid plains of the West and Northwest. The cultural problems and the crop species problems that are now being worked out in this chain of experiment stations will in my opinion result in the reclamation of practically all of the semi-arid region.

The completion of the great irrigation projects the Government now has under way, looking to the conservation and utilization of the water resulting from the snow melting in the Rocky Mountains, in the reclamation of the arid plains on the Eastern slope of these mountains will furnish comfortable, happy homes for hundreds of thousands of families of our people. I think there

is much to be thankful for in the progress that has been made in the past ten years looking to the conservation of the natural resources of the farm. The agricultural colleges, State experiment stations, and the United States Department of Agriculture, all working together hand in hand in the solution of the problems of conservation, are sure to meet with success. In this connection I cannot refrain from expressing my appreciation of the valuable services of the present Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. James Wilson of Iowa, in stimulating scientific research that has proven of such great practical value to the farmer. He has gathered about him a corps of scientific agricultural experts, working in conjunction with scientific men, in the agricultural colleges and State experiment stations, who are solving these problems of the farmer. If the agricultural science advances in the next decade as it has in the past, not only will the present fertility of the soil be preserved but it will be even richer than it is to-day. As soon as the American farmer awakens to the importance of following these well established methods of scientific agriculture, the fertility of the soil will not only be conserved but there will be an increase in the present production of the farms.

Dr. B. T. Galloway, the chief of the Bureau of the Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, tells me that if the farmers of the United States would adopt and practice cultural methods that have been worked out and proven to be successful and practical, not only in the experiment stations, but also on the farm on a large scale, the productiveness of the farms would be increased from twenty to fifty per cent, and with a very slight increase in labor.

The natural resources of the farm are different from the natural resources of the forest or the mine. When once all of the minerals are removed from the mountain, it takes multiplied centuries to make more; when the for-



ests are depleted, it takes at least half a century to grow another crop of timber; but under proper methods of tillage and farm management the productiveness of the farm can be conserved year after year without any appreciable reduction in its productiveness.

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## ETHNOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

BY JAMES MOONEY

[This subject was discussed by Mr. Mooney without manuscript or notes. No stenographic report was taken of his remarks.]

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## ETHNOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

BY JOHN R. SWANTON

A sharp line of demarcation is to be drawn between the Indian tribes which inhabited most of our southern States and those of the north. This line, however, is drawn considerably south of the boundary between the northern and southern States, and may perhaps be placed at the thirty-fourth parallel of latitude—one degree south of the southern boundary of Tennessee. The eastern part of our country is thus divided into two very unequal portions, and if we limit ourselves to the Mississippi Valley the disparity in size between the southern and northern divisions becomes still greater. But what the southern Indians lacked in extent of territory they made up in numbers, culture, and historical prominence. North of the line I have suggested the ethnological problems are concerned almost entirely with three great linguistic stocks or families—the Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan—while south of the line the multiplicity is much greater.

The largest family of tribes in the South was the Muskogean, which, when encountered by Europeans, extended from the Atlantic Ocean and the Savannah

River to the Mississippi and in some places slightly beyond. To the northwest they reached the mouth of the Ohio, but on the northeast they did not extend much beyond the present site of Atlanta, Georgia, being held back by the Cherokee. Southward they were bounded by the gulf except in two places; but it was not until long after their contact with whites that they possessed themselves of the peninsula of Florida. The largest and best known Muskogean tribes were the Choctaw of southeastern Mississippi and southwestern Alabama, the Chickasaw of northern Mississippi and western Tennessee, the Apalachee of Apalachee Bay, Florida, the Yamasi of the Atlantic coast, and the Creeks. The Creeks, however, were not a tribe but a confederacy, of which the leading member — often called Creeks owing to their predominance — were the Muskogee; but in addition there were the Alibamo, Koasati, Tuskegee, Hitciti, Mikasuki, and some others. The Creeks are generally distinguished into upper Creeks, that is, those living on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, and the lower Creeks living on the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. But sometimes the Tallapoosa Indians were called Middle Creeks, and Tallapoosa was often used as a tribal name. Along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico was a fringe of smaller tribes. On Apalachicola River were several bands known collectively by the same name as the river, though subsequently some of these, such as the Tawasa and Chatot, received considerable independent notice. Others were the Pensacola, Tohome, Mobile, Naniaba, Pascagoula, Acolapissa, Tangipahoa, Quinipissa, Bayougoula, Washa, Chawasha, and Okelousa — the last five westward of the Mississippi. The affinity of some of these is however still doubtful. On the upper Yazoo was another group of independent tribes of which the principal was the Chakchiuma or Red Crawfish Indians. Opposite the mouth of Red River were the Houma, a branch of those last mentioned.

On the Mississippi River from the Big Black River to Red River, and on the lower course of Red River itself was a small but important group of tribes named from their principal member, the Natchez group. This was originally thought to form a distinct stock, but the late Dr. Brinton considered he had established its relationship to the Muskogean languages; and I believe my own researches have served to place the fact beyond reasonable doubt. The remaining tribes of this group were the Taënsa of Lake St. Joseph, and the little known tribe of Avoyel.

The stock second in importance is the Caddoan. This is best known from two northern branches, the Pawnee of Nebraska, and the Arikara of North Dakota, which are outside of the area which forms the proper subject of this discussion; but the main body of the people were originally in northeastern Texas, northwestern Louisiana, southeastern Oklahoma, and southwestern Arkansas. Within this area there were three principal divisions; (1) the Wichita and its branches, the Tawakoni, and Waco, occupying the northern part of the area outlined; (2) the Kichai south of the Wichita along the Trinity; and (3) the Caddo proper in the remaining territory. Although separated by alien tribes the first two of these were connected more closely with the Pawnee than with the Caddo. Among the Caddo there were two principal groups of tribes or confederacies — one usually called the Hasinai in eastern Texas between the Upper Neches and the Trinity and the other centering about the Kadohadacho on lakes Sodo and Caddo in northwestern Louisiana. Smaller bands spread away from these as far east as the Washita River and almost as far north as the Arkansas. On either side of the Middle Sabine were two small tribes called Adai, and Eyeish, which spoke languages very different from the rest, one of which was believed at one time to constitute an

independent stock. This difference was perhaps due to intermixture with coast peoples.

On the lower Yazoo, the neighboring course of the Mississippi, and the low country westward as far as the Washita was a small group of tribes, which were probably related, although the language of only one, the Tunica, is known. These were (besides the Tunica) the Yazoo and Koroa, and the Tiou and Grigra who lived as subject tribes among the Natchez. When La Salle and Tonti descended the Mississippi in 1682 there was a Koroa town as far south as Fort Adams, but it had disappeared in 1698.

About Grand Lake and the lower part of Bayou Teche, southern Louisiana, were the Chitimacha who constituted a stock by themselves.

West of the Chitimacha, from Vermillion Bay to Galveston Bay and the lower Trinity, was still another stock which we call Atakapa from the name usually applied to the people living there by their Choctaw neighbors, though it was an opprobrious epithet signifying "man eater". The only names different from these in this area probably belonged to subdivisions. They are the Opelousa, near the city of that name in Louisiana, and the Akokisa of the lower Trinity. Researches by Professor Bolton of the University of Texas seem to indicate that some other tribes of central Texas, such as the Bidai, Deadoses, etc., belonged to the same group.

Continuing westward we find on the coast a group of five or six tribes, called from one of their number Karankawan and extending from about the site of Galveston nearly to the mouth of the Nueces River. Inland from these, between the Trinity and Cibolo Creek, was another group named in the same way Tonkawan. And beyond both from Cibolo Creek and the Nueces to the central part of the Mexican State of Coahuila extended a larger family which has been called Coahuiltecan,

though perhaps a better name would have been Pakawan, that applied by Dr. Gatschet. Finally, in the Mexican State of Tamaulipas there appear to have been three small families, called Tamaulipecan, Janambrian, and Olivean — the last of which embraces a single tribe brought back from Texas in very early days by a Spanish expedition. This enumeration brings us to the Huastec of Panuco, a Mayan offshoot, and the Nahuatlán tribes of north central Mexico, in other words to the strictly Mexican tribes.

Returning now to the extreme east we find the Florida Peninsula occupied by an independent stock called Timuquanan, from the principal tribe which the Spaniards encountered there; and farther north on the middle course of the Savannah was another, the Uchean, embracing the Yuchi tribe. Higher up the Savannah River a band of Shawnee are encountered belonging to the Algonquian stock; and beyond were the Cherokee and a number of Siouan tribes. These lie outside of the area now under discussion, but two small Siouan tribes had at some remote period forced their way southward and settled within it — one, the Ofo, upon the Yazoo River, and the other, the Biloxi, upon the lower course of Pascagoula River and the neighboring coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

Although De Soto and Cabeza de Vaca early in the sixteenth century found most of the tribes we have just considered in substantially the same positions which they occupied at the beginning of the eighteenth century practically every tribe of the Muskogean stock, the largest east of the Mississippi, had a definite tradition of migration from the West. This tradition was at least shared by the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogee, Alibamu, Hitchiti, and Yamasí. Sometimes we are told that the Choctaw and Chickasaw came out of the ground at the famous hill of Nanih waya, in the southern part of Winston County, Mississippi, at the sources of

Pearl River; but according to the earlier form of the legend they reached to that place from the westward. This tradition is an added argument for affiliating the Natchez with these tribes, since similar traditions regarding them were recorded by Du Pratz and the missionary De La Vente. The story often localizes the Muskhogean place of origin more definitely at a certain point on the Red River, but all that we can say is that evidence points to their having crossed the Mississippi somewhere between the mouths of the Yazoo and Arkansas rivers. The Chakchiuma appear to have been a rear guard to this movement, next in front of whom came the Choctaw and Chickasaw, who spread south and north respectively, still farther in front were the Alibamu and Koasati, beyond them the Hitciti, Mikasuki, and Apalachicola tribes, then the Apalachee, and finally the Yamasi. Meanwhile smaller bands spread south to Pensacola and Mobile bays, Pascagoula and Pearl rivers; while still others eddying round as it were to the southwest reached the Mississippi and even recrossed it. It was probably during this eastward march that they encountered and swept along with them the two little Siouan tribes that I have mentioned. Meantime the Muskogee had kept farther to the north and sufficiently remote from their relations to acquire a dialect markedly different from the others. Presently, however, they began to move southeastward, entered the valleys of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers where they found the Alibamu and Koasati and acquired a dominating position over them and presently crossed to the Chattahoochee and Flint, where they came to occupy a similar position with regard to the Hitciti and their allies.

The Muskogee were thus to the Creek confederacy like the nucleus of a rolling snowball gathering up the smaller tribes by its superiority in numbers and warlike character. We are not to think of the position of the Muskogee to these subordinate tribes as of conquerors to



conquered in the oriental sense. They owed their dominating position purely to numbers, warlike character, and perhaps superior social regulations, and probably looked down upon the other tribes in proportion; but in matters of war or peace there was no more compulsion exercised and little more unity than between the different towns and villages of the Choctaw or Dakota. There was no doubt a beginning of nationality there which would make an excellent study for some student of the evolution of government, but it was a very feeble one. It had not attained to the in all ways remarkable perfection of the Iroquois league.

The writer regards the Natchez as representing the advance guard of Muskhogean tribes, although the ones which remained farthest behind, allowing the other representatives of the stock to push on east of them. They had probably pursued a more southern course in their travels. The Taënsa and Avoyel were both late offshoots from the Natchez — the latter having broken off so recently as to retain the tradition regarding it recorded in Pénicaut.

Circumstantial evidence and tradition unite in making the Pawnee a southern tribe separated from the Wichita at some prehistoric period; and the separation of the Arikara from the Skidi Pawnee is so recent as to be almost a matter of history. Regarding the Caddoan tribes themselves the best informed students are inclined to assign them a western or southwestern origin, and think they have reasons for believing that they had at one time been in contact with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.

We now have to inquire into the origin of the small stocks of the Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast. From his investigations regarding the languages of the Chitimacha, Atakapa, and Tunica, the writer is of the opinion that, although differing very widely at the present time,

a connection exists between them — more closely between the Chitimacha and Atakapa, but also between these two and the Tunica. Moreover, certain linguistic features common to them crop out in the languages of the Tonkawa, Karankawa, and Pakawan tribes, suggesting that what must at present be regarded as so many independent stocks may have originally been dialects of an ancient common tongue. According to Choctaw and Chickasaw tradition there was an old Tunica settlement in northwestern Mississippi near Friar Point, and the site of this village determined the boundary between the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. If true this would seem to indicate that the Tunica had formerly lived higher up the Mississippi River than the position they occupied in La Salle's time. The only Chitimacha tradition preserved to us points to Natchez as the earlier seat of their nation; and this recalls to mind Du Pratz's statement that the Natchez and Chitimacha were called "brothers" and were supposed to be related by language — an evident error, although deeper studies into the speech of the two peoples will perhaps show unsuspected affinities. The only suggestion of an Atakapa migration legend is contained in their flood myth which relates that those who were saved descended upon a mountain which appeared to Duralde, the recorder of this myth, the mountains of San Antonio.

If the Yuchi of Savannah River and the Timucua of Florida had any migration legends I am ignorant of them. Nor am I sufficiently familiar with the languages spoken by these peoples to form any theory as to their affinities and probable history.

Such were the tribes of the lower Mississippi and Gulf region. Like anthropological investigations in all parts of the world researches among them have the double purpose of discovering the nature of the people in themselves considered and of enabling us to learn their past history and finally their origin. These two purposes, it

is true, supplement each other and are of mutual assistance; but to representatives of historical societies, I take it that the principal interest is an historical one. What do we know then, or what do we have reason for believing, regarding the past history of the peoples whom I have just passed in review? I will now proceed to answer this question in accordance with the best data at our disposal.

Piecing together the information derived from myths, language, and archæological remains, I will suggest the following as a working hypothesis regarding the ancient history of the region under consideration. In early times Georgia and the eastern part of Alabama may have been occupied by tribes represented at the dawn of European discovery by the Yuchi of the Savannah River — De Soto's Cofitachique — and the Timucua of Florida. West of them to the Mississippi River and along both banks of that stream were the ancestors and congeners of the later Tunica and Chitimacha, and these were affiliated with others like the Atakapa, Karankawa, Tonkawa, and Pakawa, extending westward along the Texas coast as far as southern Tamaulipas. It is probable, too, that they extended up the valley of the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Ohio or even to the Missouri. In the interior of northern Louisiana and southern Arkansas we must suppose the ancestors of our present Muskogean to have been living, and beyond them to the Rio Grande in New Mexico, the Pueblo country, the tribes of Caddoans.

When the Muskogean irruption took place one band of the invaders probably subjugated the river tribes, whom they found in possession of the country, and combined with them on unequal terms, the conquerors becoming the nobles, or ruling class, the conquered the Shudras, Stinkards, or Puants, though unlike a true caste system marriage without the caste was obligatory as far as the nobles were concerned. This, I believe to have been the

origin of the Natchez state — the result of the fusion of of a Muskogean with a non-Muskogean element on unequal social terms. The rest of the Muskogeans crossed the Mississippi higher up, possibly impelled by the power of the Natchez, and pushed eastward to the Atlantic, confining the non-Muskogean tribes within more restricted bounds. In their wake came the Caddoan peoples either as the impelling force or simply as occupants of territory already abandoned — though in later times they were severely handled by those whom they had followed, who re-crossed the river to attack them. It was probably at this time that the Tunica descended from higher up the Mississippi, and the Chitimacha southward from Natchez to the coast; while in the wake of it the Siouan Quapaw came down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas.

It becomes, of course, a natural object of inquiry what occasioned this great movement. Was it desire for conquest, over-population, or natural restlessness which started such a human wave? From what we know of primitive people generally I think it safe to say that deliberate desire for conquest must be ruled out of consideration, and that we are not to think of it as of the march of armies accomplished in one or in a dozen years. It is altogether possible that the traditions which have come down to us compress into one movement the accomplishment of decades or even of centuries. If the Muskogeans were forced on by Caddoan tribes behind them, it is possible that the origin of the whole may be sought in the irruption of the Apache and Navaho from their homes in the distant north.

In the foregoing I have treated the peoples of the lower Mississippi with reference to their linguistic affinities. Although this has been found in practice the most convenient method of classification it must be remembered that it is not the only way, tribes having also been classified according to their physical characteristics or accord-

ing to their culture. These two methods agree in one point, in which they have a great advantage over language, and that is that they may be pursued archæologically; for they leave remains which may be dug up and studied. Classification by culture is the weakest of all methods if it is desired to determine blood relationship, but it has an interest all its own. On the one hand, the same culture may be shared by people utterly diverse in every other respect; and on the other hand related people may differ entirely in culture.

Viewing the region we have just been considering from this point of view we find that the culture it represents agrees fairly well with the linguistic areas. There is a characteristic Muskhogean culture, a characteristic Timucua culture, a characteristic Caddoan culture, a characteristic Chitimacha culture, a characteristic Atakapa culture, and a characteristic Natchez culture. The Yuchi also appear to have had a culture peculiar to themselves, though in later times this became somewhat confused with that of the Creeks. The Tunica and their allies are the only Indians whose cultural differences do not seem to come out clearly, but this is probably due to lack of data rather than lack of characteristic elements; and where manuscripts fail us archæological investigation must supply the deficiency. From the information at hand I should say that the three highest cultures among these, the three that smack most of what we call "civilization", were those of the Yuchi, Timucua, and Natchez. Of the first two little is known; but the Natchez civilization was in many respects superior to anything to be found elsewhere in the present territory of the United States or Canada. It was characterized by the organization of the state into castes, a theocratic absolutism, and the possession of a temple containing a fire never allowed to go out. Besides the Natchez and Taënsa, elements of this culture were shared by the Tunica, the Chitimacha,

the Biloxi, and the Muskogean tribes of the lower Mississippi and Gulf coast as far eastward as the Pascagoula River. It is an interesting question whether this culture was evolved by the Natchez themselves or was borrowed by them from some of the pre-Muskogean tribes around them. The latter view is a fascinating one, but it is contradicted by all the evidence in our possession; for, upon that theory this culture should not culminate with the Natchez but with the Tunica or some other neighbors of that tribe, whereas the early writings show clearly that it did culminate with them and that this particular tribe was looked up to by all in the surrounding region on account of its remarkable temple and superior civilization.

As we withdraw from that region in the same measure the characteristic elements of that culture fade out and disappear. This being the case, then, are we to suppose that the Natchez culture at one time extended as far as the Ohio and Missouri, since through that area the archæological remains are very largely of one type; or are we to consider it a later growth having little or no connection with what had gone before? That is one of the problems to be answered by future investigation — such investigation as I hope will be undertaken by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Another question you will want to ask is whether there are any indications that the culture of the lower Mississippi Valley was connected with that of Mexico or Yucatan. I believe that culture influences from the south did enter the lower Mississippi, but my investigations appear to discountenance the view that such contact was applied directly or with great power. I mentioned the Atakapa culture as being distinct from all others; but this culture was marked rather by what it lacked than by what it possessed. It was shared by all the coast tribes of Texas, and by those of northeastern Mexico as well, and it is the culture of which such depressing pictures are

given by Cabeza de Vaca, the companions of La Salle, Belle-Isle, and all later writers. The tribes of that region consisted of small unstable bands which lived upon fish, shell-fish, alligators, and sometimes going to hunt bison and eat tunas. In all North America it is the one region I would point to as having the crudest and most uncivilized population; and it extended for about seven hundred miles before broken by the Huastecs of Panuco in southern Tamaulipas. In the direction of Florida we at first find encouragement in encountering the comparatively civilized Timucua tribes of the northern part of the peninsula, but in the southern part of that peninsula and again in western Cuba, the necessary stepping stones to our chain of evidence are wanting, these peoples being noted rather for their deficiencies than their acquirements. The only contact with a culture in any way comparable to their own which there seems to be some reason for thinking may have existed was toward the west inland where it is possible that they had had intercourse with that of the Pueblos. But until archæology is appealed to the testimony of ethnology seems to favor an entirely autochthonous origin for the Indian cultures of our southern States. Nevertheless, the last word has not been said upon this subject.

Physical anthropology as a science is fairly old, but as an applied science in this country it may be said to be in its infancy. This is partly due to the comparatively unattractive character of the work and the painstaking measurements necessary to arrive at definite conclusions, but more to an unfortunate lack of confidence in this line of investigation as leading to positive results. Unfortunately, also, archæologists have allowed the skeletal remains unearthed by them to be injured or destroyed, taking cognizance only of the to them more attractive pottery, worked flints, etc. I am indebted to Dr. Hrdlicka of the United States National Museum for most

of the following information regarding the physical anthropology of the Mississippi Valley.

Omitting the Eskimo from consideration, Dr. Hrdlicka distinguishes two original types of people in North America, the long headed and the short headed. The long headed type includes all of the Indians of the northern and eastern parts of our country, the great plains, and most of the tribes of the great plateau. A tongue of peoples of this same type also extends through northern Arizona and New Mexico, the Gila valley, and the highlands of northern Mexico to Mexico and even Tehuantepec, embracing the famous Aztec. In South America it includes the people of the south and east and is represented here and there in the west. In the southern States the Timucua of Florida, the Muskogee, and most of the Atlantic coast people are long heads, as were also those about St. Louis and northeastward through Illinois; while the Choctaw, Chickasaw, the small tribes of the Gulf coast, and the Mississippi Valley tribes below St. Louis were broad headed. The same was true of the ancient inhabitants of the Ohio Valley, the present territory of the State of Iowa, eastern Nebraska and Kansas, western Missouri, Arkansas, southern Oklahoma, and nearly all of Texas. Artificial deformation of the head was resorted to in the western part of Florida, and on the Gulf coast as far west as the mouth of the Mississippi, also up the Mississippi to the Yazoo, and probably beyond into Arkansas. Sporadic cases have been reported even beyond.

The ethnological problems of the lower Mississippi may be summarized as follows: The linguistic problems are to establish the mutual relationship or divergence of the various stocks found within this area and their relation to stocks outside of it. The cultural problems are (1) to determine the relation of the Natchez, Yuchi, and Timucua culture to each other, (2) to determine their



relation to that of the builders of the older mounds, and (3) to determine what connection if any exists between the culture of the southern States and that in Mexico, Yucatan, or among the Pueblos. The problems in physical anthropology are to establish the limits of the custom of head-flattening, and to determine clearly the relationship between the long headed and short headed types of Indians.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that investigation into the ancient history of America resolves itself into three lines of research: (1) that conducted with the living peoples, the science which we call ethnology, (2) archaeological explorations, and (3) the collection and examination of early narratives throwing light on the various Indian tribes. The first at best cannot carry us very far, but it is indispensable as a starting point for intelligent archæological work, while we must depend upon the latter to give us a glance into the hoary antiquity of America, long before the white man trod its shores. For most of the historical societies represented in this Association opportunity for direct investigation of the Indians no longer exists. In Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana a few knots of Indians are yet to be found; but almost all ethnological investigation must now be done in Oklahoma among the former five great nations.

With archæology it is altogether different, and here the separate States will probably have to shoulder the burden, since the complete exploration of any one of them would be too great a task for any one museum or bureau in a hundred years. While many of its citizens are busily engaged in conserving and restoring archæological landmarks in Palestine, Egypt, Greece, and Italy, each State represented here ought to be made to understand that it has an archæology and in that archæology an ancient history of its own to conserve, which,

although large in most cases, is nevertheless definite in amount. Any page of this record once destroyed by the march of improvements or careless investigation can never be restored. Each State — or interests in each State — should see to it that exploration of these remarkable remains is undertaken and that no exploration is entered upon except by men properly trained and equipped for the undertaking. I repeat once more: this material is definite in amount. Because our States are large and the remains numerous we are in danger of cheating ourselves with the belief that the amount is unlimited, but such is not the case. Every State has a definite, if large, area, and within that area is a definite, though large, number of earthworks and articles of archæological interest. Each of these destroyed or mislabeled is one link dropped from the chain of evidence on which a proper reconstruction of the ancient history of the Mississippi Valley rests.

But whether or not historians interest themselves actively in the ethnological and archæological sides of this study there is one field in which they can cordially join hands with the ethnologist and the archæologist, viz. the discovery, preservation, and study of ancient documents bearing upon our Indian tribes. Were it not for these we should have no knowledge whatever of some tribes, and very much less regarding many others. In Great Britain, France, Spain, and other European countries, not to speak of our own country and Canada, there still exist numbers of unpublished manuscripts to which the ethnologist and the historian each desires to have access, and in the publication of which they can and should heartily coöperate.

## PHYSIOGRAPHY AS RELATED TO HISTORY IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

BY CURTIS F. MARBUT

[This subject was discussed by Mr. Marbut from notes. No stenographic report was taken of his remarks.]

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## THE STUDY OF THE PRESENT AS AN AID TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PAST

BY EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

For generations it has been dinned into our ears that nothing will help one to comprehend the present like study of the past. In this paper I propose to turn the tables by showing that often one cannot comprehend the past save by study of the present.

By "comprehending the past" I mean something more than an acquaintance with such occurrences as impressed themselves deeply on the minds of contemporaries. I mean some understanding of the lot and outlook of the principal classes of men of an epoch, and an insight into the direction and underlying causes of the social movement. To know the salient events of, say, fourteenth century England without some notion as to how life presented itself to noble, yeoman, villein, burgher, merchant, and artisan is to fail to comprehend that epoch. Again, to know that during a certain period people were drifting to the towns, that plough land was being seeded down, that peasants were rising out of serfdom, that the burden of private debt was increasing, that unbelief was spreading and the monastic spirit was declining, without

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any insight into the factors that conspired to bring about these changes, is to fail to comprehend that epoch.

Nothing is more striking than the blindness of even the most intelligent persons to what is going on under their very eyes. The man who has any commanding outlook upon our own time is certainly one in a hundred thousand — perhaps one in a million. Our age watches its internal processes with the solicitous eye of a valetudinarian. It takes testimony, interviews, kodaks, measures, counts, maps, plots, exhibits, and publishes with a zeal heretofore unknown. Yet what egregious mistakes it makes! Until lately we charged to depravity, laziness, or climate what we now attribute to the *aenemia* produced by the hook worm. What fine philosophic disquisitions on the enervation and moral degradation of the white man in the southern Appalachians or in the West Indies have in a twinkling been invalidated by the discovery of this parasite!

How few of the thinkers of our time are discerning enough to connect our fierce political battles over silver not with the dishonesty of mortgaged farmers or the cupidity of silver-mine owners, but with the diminishing output of gold during the eighties and the early nineties; and to explain the era of good feeling that presently set in neither by the amiability of McKinley nor by the Spanish-American war diversion, but by the stream of gold that unexpectedly gushed from the Klondyke and the Rand? In the course of a decade there has come about a wide acceptance of Professor Turner's generalization that in America the democratic spirit grew up in and spread from that portion of society in the immediate presence of free land, namely, the frontier. The previous generation had just as many significant facts under its eye, but persisted in accounting for American democracy by Providence, the Fathers, the Puritan tradition, ethnic mixture, or climate.

The addition of nine hundred million dollars of wealth to the resources of European nobles who have married American heiresses might well be supposed to bolster the declining social and political prestige of European aristocracies; yet I have never found but one writer who recognized this as among the forces trans-Atlantic democracy has to contend with. The facts regarding the rapid advance of political, social, and industrial discrimination against the southern negro are abundant and call forth general comment. They are usually construed as an expression of the barbarity of the mob, or the narrow-mindedness and prejudice of benighted individuals. I have not met with half a dozen men who discern in them what Professor Commons does when he says: "At the present day we can see in our own South the very historical steps by which in the forgotten centuries India proceeded to her rigid system of castes."

That the American divorce rate has tripled in thirty-eight years is laid to infidelity, moral decay, growing licentiousness, the woman's rights movement, or the rampant spirit of individualism. Few connect it with the great multiplication of industrial opportunities for women, which, by opening to her the prospect of solving the bread-and-butter question by her own efforts, encourage the aggrieved wife to break the conjugal fetter and face the world alone.

The seemingly irresistible march of democracy among the peoples of the West is ordinarily attributed to God, Destiny, race fibre, or the ideas of philosophers, statesmen and leaders. It occurs to hardly any one to connect it with the fall in the birth-rate, which, by preventing population from increasing so rapidly as wealth, enhances the economic value, and therewith the social and political value, of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. Thoughtful men ought to divine that the open and wide-spread repudiation of liberal principles of gov-

ernment within our generation, the scarcely veiled contempt of the rich for the poor, the unblushing Machiavellism of the nations in their relations to one another, and the frank ruthlessness of the strong races toward the weak have some connection with the loosening hold of a religion which gave supernatural sanctions to a fraternal ethics. Yet few recognize that these avowals of the ethics of the jungle in the various human relationships are joined at the base to the great intellectual revolution that has occurred during the last half-century.

If we are so incapable of grasping the complex of factors that are shaping our existence under our very eyes, what chance have we of gauging the dominant factors and the significant changes in those remote epochs concerning which we possess not a hundredth of the accurate knowledge that we have of our own time? Hearn found the Japanese as primitive as the Etruscans, and at least five thousand years behind us emotionally. If Hearn is right when he assures us we do not understand the Japanese whom we can see and talk with, how little can we hope to understand the early Romans or the Byzantine Greeks whom we cannot see and talk with!

Our age is conscious of a contemporary social development and makes copious and systematic observations of significant phenomena which will certainly help our posterity to understand our time. But this conscientious gathering and publishing of undisputed primary facts is a comparatively recent thing. Casting back over the centuries we must confess that the materials at our disposal, though abundant enough in most cases, are by no means of a kind to throw light on the fundamental processes or the determining forces of a period. Rarely, indeed, does an age leave behind it records which enable its successors accurately to interpret it.

The narratives of the historiographers give scarcely any clew to the underlying movement. They are apt to

tell of *events*, that is, of the dramatic or explosive moments in the national life, but not of *movements* and *drifts*, of the slow, quiet, subterranean changes which more often determine social destinies than the decisions of a ruler, the issue of a battle, or the terms of a treaty. The earthquake, flood, or plague that cuts a myriad life-threads but leaves no trace on future generations, rivets the attention of the annalist; but he has no eye for an inobvious long-drawn-out process like the exhaustion of the soil, the springing up of new industries, the rise of new fortunes, the coming in of a money economy, the dying out of talented families, the filtering in of alien races, or the accumulation of landed property in the "dead hand." Yet the latter are the fateful things which through a hidden nexus determine many of the events that busy the pen of the chronicler.

Again, the contemporary is sure to exaggerate the control of conspicuous persons over matters of common concern. Seeing the personal intervention of kings, nobles, popes, prelates and political leaders in the shaping of events, he imagines that wars, treaties, charters, councils, edicts, laws, public undertakings, and changes in institutions are expressions of their sovereign will. He fails to realize how often the policies of the great are influenced by secret pressure or fear of pressure from substantial elements that lurk in the background, from ignoble but formidable classes, from well-knit, watchful guilds and professions, from multitudes of obscure but jealous plebeians who know they have to pay for the crimes and blunders of their overlords. Yet it is largely through the neglected reaction of the ruled upon the rulers that general social and economic conditions are able to influence the course of political, military and ecclesiastical events.

Even when your chronicler looks away from events and sets himself to describe conditions, he is apt to put

things in a false perspective, because social classes differ greatly in their power of giving expression to their state of mind. When suffering, those who labor with their hands compress the lips, while those who work their brains or their fellowmen open them. The leisure class vociferates if it is made uncomfortable, whereas the broad industrial layers emit but a vague and confused murmur as they writhe under the harrow. A few thousand spend-thrift nobles, harassed by debts, make more outcry than a million peasants sinking under mortgages because of an appreciation of the precious metals or a forced competition with artificially cheapened foreign bread stuffs.

It is, however, a failing of the contemporary to attribute fateful turns in national destiny, if not to the intervention of conspicuous persons, then at least to changes in manner of life, in morals, in religious beliefs, in institutions, that is, to matters of conscious choice and of hot debate, regarding which the historian himself cherishes some strong feeling. How could he moralize, or philosophize, or thrill his readers or score off his opponents if he confessed the prepotence of deforestation, a change in the rate of production of the precious metals, a shifting of trade routes, the application of steam to transportation, or the growth of towns?

Let it not be imagined that when we turn from chronicles to documents we come upon tremorless ground. A trustworthy record of the movements and conditions that shape events is hardly to be gleaned from the text of the treaties, charters, statutes, edicts, and grants an age leaves behind it. Does a treaty always mention the real grounds of strife or disclose the real status the belligerents accept? Is not the view of things given in an edict or a bull often false and *ex parte*? Is the eighteen-count indictment contained in the Declaration of Independence a quite fair characterization of George III's treatment of



the colonists? Does the manifesto of the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 give a reliable picture of the status of women in this country at that time? As for interpreting laws at their face value, it is now agreed that northern historians have erred in interpreting slavery by the barbarous black codes enacted by southern legislatures. The relations of the races were determined by custom, in the forming of which the blacks had some share, rather than by the harsh laws which white legislatures reluctantly consented to pass in order to appease a rabid or alarmist minority. In further illustration of the serene objectivity of public documents I might refer to the sort of light the platforms of our national parties shed upon the moral, social, and economic condition of the American people at the opening of the twentieth century!

If historical materials are so dubious, the student of the past ought to bring to his task insight derived from the study of the epoch which he can know most intimately and accurately, namely, the present. Not that he is to think the past in the image of the present. The drawing of a forced parallel between the historic personality, event, or situation, and some personality, event, or situation that happens to be in the limelight of the moment is a cheap trick and has fallen into deserved disrepute. I mean that he can often find a key to the remote in the uniformities and regularities that can be brought to light by a close scrutiny of the present. He will reconstitute the past better if he is acquainted with certain constants in social life, such as the role of the physical environment, the influence of the social composition, the effect of immigration and race mixture, the factors of the birth-rate, the consequence of increase of numbers, the processes of assimilation, the types and causes of social differentiation, the modes of interaction of societies, and the cross-fertilization of cultures.

Again, somewhere on the globe he may find and study a specimen of nearly every type of social organization that ever existed. Japan, Hearn believes, suggests what the ancient peoples were eight or ten centuries before our era. A knowledge of China throws light on the Byzantine civilization. The village communities of India help one to understand the village communities of our far forefathers. Observations on Turkish misgovernment explain many a blight recorded in history. The crowd-phenomena of contemporary Russia give a clew to the child-pilgrimages, dancing mania, tarantism, flagellation, and like strange movements that agitated the Middle Ages.

But most important of all is the fact that our own epoch is rapidly substituting quantitative knowledge of itself for qualitative. Exact measurements of fundamental social phenomena by means of statistics give us an insight into contemporary tendencies such as no other great and complex society ever enjoyed. What other age ever possessed so incomparable a check on the wild and whirling words of bigots, cranks, fanatics and partisans? Whither would discussion of the American race question drift but for the fact that when a disputant begins to blaze we drench him with statistics showing that every census year the negroes have constituted a smaller percentage of the American people than any previous census year? How bewildered we should be as to the actual condition of wage-earners but for the figures exhibiting the movement of wages in relation to cost of living! Against the reckless and alarmist statements of ecclesiastical bigots as to the "divorce evil" we are fortified by the figures which prove that divorce is chiefly at the instance of the wife and usually on account of drunkenness, desertion, non-support, cruelty and the like. So, in respect to the volume of immigration, the falling off of births, the drift to the cities, the extent of child and

female labor, the entrance of women into occupations, the postponement of marriage, the prolongation of life, the volume of pauperism and relief, the tendency toward the various species of crime and the movement of tenancy, we enjoy a knowledge far more copious and precise than any historical epoch can furnish for itself.

To be sure, the right handling and interpretation of statistics is, as yet, understood by few, and so, in popular discussions, figures have been shamefully misused. But such abuse casts no doubt on the soundness or ultimate triumph of the method of measurement. "Figures don't lie, but liars will figure."

So far as we are still in the dark on vital matters, it is because the beneficent possibilities of statistical measurement are still so little realized. Even yet we lack the data for answering certain important questions. We are without exact knowledge as to the distribution of wealth or of social income, as to the amount of poverty, as to the extent and movement of private indebtedness, as to the fluctuations of employment, as to the hygiene of industry, as to the prolificacy of the different social types and classes, as to the somatic characters of paupers and of criminals, as to the proportion and numerical movement of the insane and defective. Some day, no doubt, we shall maintain a great Anthropological Survey, on the analogy of the Geological Survey, which will furnish the fullest data as to morbidity, longevity, fecundity, efficiency, and criminality of every population element in every one of the great areas of characterization of the United States.

## APPLIED HISTORY

BY BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

From the very beginning of historical study writers and teachers of history have voiced the idea that the facts of history may be utilized as a guide to the future actions of men or of nations. Historians have always endeavored to point out causes and results; they have examined conditions with a view to ascertaining causal connections with subsequent events. Closely connected with this idea is the thought that a knowledge of the past throws light on the present and the future. Such are the conceptions that underlie the notion of "Applied History."

I do not know that the phrase "Applied History" is one that has thus far been employed by students of history and politics. But I believe that the time has come when it can be used with both propriety and profit.

There is a tendency at present to make practical application of the pure sciences. Everywhere we see the application of scientific knowledge in the practical affairs of men and communities. Colleges of Applied Science are being established. The science of Geology is applied in mining; the science of Botany, in forest culture; the science of Chemistry, in commercial and manufacturing enterprises; and the science of Physics, in engineering. Through the Department of Agriculture at Washington scientific knowledge is being extensively applied in the work of the fields.

Why not apply the scientific knowledge of history in the practical affairs of to-day? The opportunities in this direction are almost unlimited. Nor have these op-

portunities been wholly overlooked. Indeed, the idea of applied history has found concrete expression and organization in the legislative reference departments or bureaus which have recently been established in a number of our States. By these departments or bureaus scientific information from the record of events is gathered and compiled for the use of legislators in the making of laws. For example, if the State legislature is about to undertake a revision of tax laws, the legislative reference bureau undertakes the collection and compilation of information concerning the history and methods of taxation and how these methods have actually operated in the various States. Legislative reference work is essentially the application of scientific historical knowledge in the field of practical politics.

In the development of legislative reference work there seem to be two well marked stages. The first stage is where the State library has served as a reference library for the use of legislators. The second stage is where a legislative reference department or bureau has been organized for the purpose of collecting and arranging material for the State legislature. The best example of the legislative reference department is found in Wisconsin.

Thus far the legislative reference departments have, in the collection data, emphasized current information. Present conditions have been investigated to the neglect of historical development. The fact that a particular law has worked well in Illinois is no guarantee that it will work well in Missouri or Iowa. Many of our State statutes have failed because they have been borrowed from other States without regard to the conditions of the new field into which they were transplanted. It is not enough to collect current information: the historical aspects of every problem should be investigated. New legislation should be evolved out of what has been.

Now, I believe that the collection and compilation of historical information on social, economic, and political questions is a function that may with propriety be performed by a state historical society. Legislation is, of course, no function of such a society: it should not even undertake to propose legislation. But the collection and compilation of historical data which may be applied in current legislation may with propriety be undertaken.

Inspired by the larger view of history which includes the social and economic life of man as well as his political activities, The State Historical Society of Iowa promises to lay the foundation for Applied History in a new line of publications which will appear under the title of the "Iowa Economic History Series". Among the volumes which are being prepared for this series are a *History of Labor Legislation in Iowa*, a *History of Taxation in Iowa*, a *History of Banking in Iowa*, and a *History of Agriculture in Iowa*.

## RECENT HISTORICAL LEGISLATION IN ARKANSAS

BY JOHN H. REYNOLDS

The legislation which I am called upon to discuss is about two months old. The present plan of caring for the history of Arkansas is the outgrowth of the work of the Arkansas Historical Association — an association organized some five years ago by the professor of history in the University of Arkansas. Soon after its organization he became convinced that there was not sufficient public interest to conduct its work along proper lines without State aid. He appeared, therefore, before the legislature in 1905 and asked for a small appropriation, sufficient to bring out the first volume of the publications of the Arkansas Historical Association. In addition he asked that the State create a history commission, temporary in character. Such a commission was created and served as an agency through which there was brought before the people of the State, in an official form, the cause of preserving our history and the duty of the State in the premises.

The Commission did its work well, brought out volume I of the *Publications of the Historical Association*, and in 1907 made its report to the legislature through the Governor. The Commission was then continued for two years longer. It brought out the second volume of the *Publications*, and in January, 1909, submitted its second report to the Governor, recommending the enlargement and the permanent organization of the work. These recommendations were approved by the General Assembly

last month. It is this recent legislation that I am called upon to analyze.

In different States the plan of preserving and publishing local history takes different forms, owing to local conditions. The particular form that the work took in Arkansas was largely due to a provision of the State Constitution which forbade the creation of a permanent State office not already provided for by the Constitution. We were, therefore, compelled to create a board, which we have called the History Commission. The board is unsalaried, but is given a salaried secretary as its executive agent.

Under this plan the State uses two agencies in carrying for and publishing its history. First, the Arkansas Historical Association will continue the *Publications* of the Association. This work does not need explanation. These publications are not unlike the publications of historical societies in other States. Arkansas will assist the Association in a financial way in bringing out these volumes. The second agency is the Arkansas History Commission, an unsalaried board, created by an act of the legislature, with a salaried Secretary who will devote his entire time to the work.

#### COMPOSITION OF THE HISTORY COMMISSION

Special effort was made to so constitute the History Commission that politics could not enter and determine the character of the work of the Commission. The act provides for nine members, three of whom are ex-officio — the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, whose tenure is practically good behavior, the President of the State University, and the President of the State Normal. The other six members are appointed by the Governor, subject to confirmation by the Senate. Their term is twelve years, one going out every two years. The new Commission has just been appointed and is composed of some



land, he will be forced to the conclusion that this continent in the twentieth century must have been inhabited by two distinct peoples — one highly civilized and the other quite primitive, if not barbarous. Such, indeed, is the difference between the work of our best sculptors and our worst.

This statement may seem preposterous, but I venture to say that it is nothing but the plain, unvarnished truth. There seems to be a peculiar notion among average men regarding art. While they would not dream of pretending to know all about matters medical, the law, higher mathematics, or electricity, they feel very much offended if their artistic judgment is questioned. The consequence is that whenever a public monument is to be erected, Messrs. Smith, Brown, and Jones unhesitatingly qualify as an expert art committee. In ninety cases out of a hundred they select the man who can talk rather than model; and sometimes they do not even think it worth while to look for a sculptor of any kind, but just give the job to a stone cutting concern, whose financial terms seem attractive. The net result of this astounding procedure is the array of sculptural atrocities that stand forever as an insult to the intelligence and taste of the community. To these self-appointed art judges, a sculptor's professional standing, his past work and record mean nothing. How could it? There is nothing so self-confident as ignorance. So the erection of totem poles labelled monuments will go merrily on until the people realize that after all art can not be judged by the grocery man but that it requires men of training and culture whose lives are devoted to the creation of the beautiful. Such men will be sought to supervise these milestones of civilization that we give to posterity. And of all the men who are directing our intellectual development you can do most in this direction, for it is your standing, your knowledge, and abil-

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ity that carries weight with those who have the power and means to add page after page to the record of human achievements.

of the ablest men in the State. I am certain they will take a broad view of the work and will conduct it along the most enlightened and comprehensive lines.

The salaried Secretary is to do the work of the Commission. His office will be either in the new State Capitol, where ample quarters will be assigned for the work, or the old State Capitol building may be turned over to the History Commission. In the latter case the Commission would come into possession of property worth \$400,000. The salary of the Secretary is \$1,800, and his tenure is during the pleasure of the Commission, being elected by that body.

#### WORK OF THE HISTORY COMMISSION

The first duty of the History Commission is to take care of the archives of the State, and it is the purpose of the Commission to have the Secretary gather together all of the public records, properly arrange them, and where necessary re-copy and make them available for public use. Another function of the Commission, working through the Secretary, is to collect all books, pamphlets, newspaper files, and any other publications, governmental or otherwise, that bear directly or indirectly on the history of the State. It is proposed in this way to build up a library rich in Arkansas history. In the second place it is the duty of the Commission to build up a museum of Arkansas history — one that will illustrate the archæological, economic, industrial, religious, and educational history of the State. Then, again, in the third place, the Commission is to collect paintings and pictures of eminent Arkansans, of historic scenes, of historic houses, and of other things that will help to give a graphic picture of the history of the State. Ample quarters for the library, the museum, and the art gallery will be provided.

Moreover, the Commission is to be a publishing agency. It is the duty of the Secretary, under the guid-

ance of the Commission, to select such public records and documents, whose historical value justifies publication, to edit and prepare them for publication, and to bring them out serially, arranged according to some well-defined plan laid down by the Commission. In the series will be included military, political, and industrial records. Rosters of Confederate and Federal veterans will be published. The work of the Commission in these several lines does not need to be enlarged upon before a body like this, familiar as you are with the organization of similar agencies in other States. The law in Arkansas is comprehensive, embodying as it does the best provisions of the laws of many States.

huge boulder of granite with a suitable inscription to mark the spot claimed to be the site of Fort Crevecoeur — the fort built by La Salle and Tonty in January, 1680, on the first expedition into the country of the Illinois. The monument was erected by the Peoria Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at a cost of about \$100, and was dedicated on June 10, 1902. It bears the inscription: "Fort Crevecoeur, 1780, — Peoria Chapter, D. A. R. 1902."

From its occupancy by the British in 1765 until July 4, 1778, when Colonel George Rogers Clark captured Kaskaskia and the other British posts, Illinois history presents no evidence of marked interest regarding British occupancy.

There are, however, several incidents regarding the French citizens during British rule that are worthy of special notice. During the year 1771 while the New England colonists, chafing under British rule, were clamoring for liberty, the French settlers of Illinois, seemingly imbued with the same spirit, assembled at Kaskaskia and formulated a demand for a "Regular Constitutional Government for the People of Illinois"; and they sent the same to General Gage at Boston, who endorsed on said petition these words: "A regular constitutional government for the people of Illinois can not be suggested. They don't deserve so much attention." Then he forwarded the petition to London. Lord Hillsborough, head of the Colonial Office, replied: "I agree with you, a regular constitutional government for that district would be highly improper." Lord Dartmouth, who succeeded Hillsborough, seemingly agreed with General Gage. Dartmouth, however, prepared a form of government which he called "A Sketch of Government for Illinois". It provided that all powers be vested in its officers, who were to be appointed by the Crown. It gave no rights to the people.

The news of the new plan spread rapidly among the colonists, and met with universal disapproval. Again the citizens of Illinois met at the village of Kaskaskia to express their disapproval of the new system. Daniel Blouin, a French Canadian, was their leader. Though nearly a thousand miles distant from the Atlantic colonists, and though they had been British subjects but six years, these French colonists possessed the true spirit of Sons of Liberty, and Daniel Blouin was to the Illinois country what Adams was to Massachusetts, and what Patrick Henry was to Virginia.

Again the Illinois colonists formulated a protest. They were as outspoken as their brethren on the Atlantic Coast. They said they regarded Lord Dartmouth's "Sketch of Government for Illinois" as "oppressive and absurd, much worse than that of any of the French or even of the Spanish colonies". They further said: "Should a government so evidently tyrannical be established it could be of no long duration, there would exist the necessity of its being abolished." Brave words were these for a handful of people far removed from civilization and kindred settlements. The Illinois protest was taken by Blouin to Boston, but it does not appear that any attention was paid to it by the British government.

I believe that the people of Illinois should not overlook the patriotism of these first citizens of Illinois. A monument near Old Kaskaskia, properly inscribed, should be erected to teach coming generations that the prairies of Illinois at this early day instilled in the breasts of our first people a love of liberty and self-government.

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## THE MARKING OF HISTORIC PLACES AND THE ERECTION OF HISTORICAL MONU- MENTS IN ILLINOIS

BY WILLIAM A. MEESE

The first settlements in Illinois were by the French, in the southern part of the State. For ninety years the lilies of France floated over our prairies. Missions were established and forts erected; and yet when the cross of St. George supplanted the French ensign, the population of the Illinois country did not exceed two thousand souls.

The French built Fort Chartres, the villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and a few smaller settlements. While the French occupancy forms an interesting period in our history, the French left nothing of marked or lasting benefit. They were a happy people, content to take what nature so bounteously furnished, exerting themselves only enough to secure a humble support. "Their traders were after furs, their explorers intent upon discoveries, while their missionaries sought for souls." Theirs is the romantic era of our history, and we owe to them the credit of lighting the fires of civilization in this Mississippi Valley.

But little is left to mark French occupancy from 1673 to 1763. Kaskaskia, the first settlement in the Illinois country and our first Territorial as well as State capital, now forms the bed of the Mississippi — which in 1892 started to form a new channel and by 1899 had entirely wiped out this ancient village.

The only things saved from this historic spot are the remains of some of its early citizens, whose bodies were removed to the mainland at the expense of the State.

Cahokia is still a straggling village. The old Cahokia court house fell into private hands; and in 1906 it was sold and moved to Chicago, where it rests in Jackson Park "distorted out of all resemblance of French architecture".

The Church of the Holy Family, however, is still in a good state of preservation. The earliest Jesuit Mission Church in the Mississippi Valley, it is the only example of early French stockade architecture.

The powder magazine and the foundation walls of Old Fort Chartres have escaped the curiosity hunters; and the little village of Prairie du Rocher, still rests on the American Bottom, nestling at the foot of the rocky bluff from which it derived its name. All these places should be fittingly marked, as well as Fort Gage and Riley's Mills, the home and tomb of Elias Kent Kane, who framed our first constitution and who was one of our first United States Senators. These places are opposite the site of Old Kaskaskia.

Through the efforts of the Chicago Historical Society, the site of Father Marquette's cabin in the winter of 1674-1675, on the west fork of the south branch of Chicago River, was marked a few years ago by the erection of a large wooden cross; and recently a bronze tablet has been placed at the foot of the cross bearing the inscription: "This end of Robey Street is the historic high ground where Marquette spent the winter of 1674-1675."

In 1895 the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company erected a monument at Summit, where Marquette landed after being flooded out of his winter quarters at Robey Street. The inscription reads: "Father Marquette landed here in 1675."

At Wesley City, a small settlement about three miles below Peoria, there has been erected near the southern end of the village, a half mile from the railway station, a

huge boulder of granite with a suitable inscription to mark the spot claimed to be the site of Fort Crevecoeur — the fort built by La Salle and Tonty in January, 1680, on the first expedition into the country of the Illinois. The monument was erected by the Peoria Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at a cost of about \$100, and was dedicated on June 10, 1902. It bears the inscription: "Fort Crevecoeur, 1780, — Peoria Chapter, D. A. R. 1902."

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excusable only on the ground of a lack of interest and coöperation on the part of the people of the State of Illinois — a neglect, not intentional, but owing solely to the fact that no effort has been made to bring this matter to the attention of our citizens. The State should fittingly mark these historic spots.

At Quincy, Illinois, there was dedicated on Saturday, May 22, 1909, a monument to George Rogers Clark costing five thousand dollars, appropriated by the State. The monument is placed in a park overlooking the Mississippi River. It is a bronze statue of Clark nine feet high, mounted on a granite pedestal.

Clark never was as far north as Quincy, although the place where the monument stands is the farthestmost western part of the State of Illinois and the most western point of Clark's conquest.

At Fort Massac, near Metropolis, the State of Illinois, under the direction of the Illinois Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, has erected a monument "In memory of George Rogers Clark and his faithful companions in arms, etc." The dedication was held on November 5, 1908. Ten acres of ground covering the site of the old fort were purchased by the State and dedicated as a public park. Clark's army consisted of men from Virginia and Kentucky. They blazed the trail which civilization was to follow; and many of them remained in Illinois, making their homes at or near the French settlements.

The nineteenth century began with another migration to Illinois of people who came from Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and the New England States. Indiana was the edge of civilization, and the emigrants from there scattered to different parts of our State. They came to settle. Their neighbors were the red men. Their first work was to fell the forests and build homes. Their next effort was to break the soil of the prairies and make them pro-

duce the necessaries of life. To this class of settlers belonged Abraham Lincoln; and it was especially this people and their descendants who built up the State.

Undoubtedly the darkest page in our early history, is the one which records the massacre of the soldiers and citizens of Fort Dearborn, on August 15, 1812. This event has been fittingly marked by an Illinois citizen. In June, 1893, Mr. George Pullman presented to the Chicago Historical Society a magnificent monument. His letter to Edward Mason, President of the Society, explains itself and is worthy of reproduction. It is as follows:

Dear Sir:—

The proximity to my home of the old cottonwood tree which marks the spot in the vicinity of which occurred the massacre of the major portion of the garrison and residents at and near Fort Dearborn, on August 15th, 1812, suggested the thought of contributing an addition to the many valuable relics belonging to your Society by the erection of an enduring monument, which should serve not only to perpetuate and honor the memory of the brave men and women and innocent children—the pioneer settlers who suffered here—but should also stimulate a desire among us and those who are to come after us to know more of the struggles and sacrifices of those who laid the foundation of the greatness of this city and state. I have been fortunate in securing the services of the eminent sculptor, Mr. Carl Rohl-Smith, who, after extended and careful research and investigation of the subject, has succeeded in producing a group of statuary and design in bas relief which embody the prominent incidents and culminating scenes of the massacre. The monument is finished, and located just one hundred feet due east from the “Massacre Tree”, and I have now the pleasure of presenting it, with appropriate deed of gift, to your Society in trust for the City of Chicago and for posterity.

Ex-President Benjamin Harrison delivered the address at the presentation. It was a speech that should have had and should to-day have wide publicity. He said in part:

I am glad that we are beginning to build monuments. Bunker Hill, was, not long ago, lonesome, but now every city and nearly all counties have built in commemoration of the heroes and of the cause. The sculptor has found the universal language. He speaks to the schooled and to the unschooled. The history of the conquest of the West is full of incidents calculated to kindle the historian and to stir the imagination of the novelist, the painter and the sculptor.

Every community should properly mark the scene of imperious demands, but the historian serves the future as effectively as the projector. We shall value our possession of lands and free institutions more highly if we learn that they were bought, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with precious blood, the blood of the brave and of the innocent. We shall, after this lesson, be more willing to preserve by blood, if need be, that which was bought by blood.

Another monument to mark this period was erected by the State and was dedicated July 19, 1908, under the supervision of the Moline Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This is located on an Island known as Campbell's Island, lying in the Mississippi River, six miles above the city of Moline. It commemorates an all-day engagement on July 19, 1814, between one hundred and thirty-three United States Regulars and Illinois Militia in three fortified keel-boats under command of Major John Campbell, and nearly one thousand Sac Indians under their chief, Black Hawk. The monument is of white granite sixteen feet square at the base, thirty-four feet high, and six feet square at the apex. A bronze tablet in bas relief, four feet by seven, depicts the battle scene. This monument is located on the battle ground on the bank of the Mississippi River and is plainly visible for several miles both up and down the river. The writer conceived the plan, and prepared a bill, which he had introduced in the legislature, appropriating five thousand dollars for the monument. As agent for the Chapter he took charge of the construction, and was also in-

strumental in securing a gift of five acres of land surrounding the monument for a State Park.

Through the efforts of the Chicago Historical Society, William M. Hoyt on May 21, 1882, placed a tablet in his building occupying the site of Fort Dearborn. It is a slab of white marble, fifteen feet high and six wide. The design shows a block-house in relief, and below a panel whereon is recited the history of the Fort at some length.

At the west end of the island of Rock Island, in the Mississippi River, on the site of the old block-house (one of the buildings forming a part of Fort Armstrong, which was built by the Federal Government in 1816 and abandoned in 1836) a monument of native stone about nine feet in height, surmounted by a pyramid of twenty eight-inch cannon balls, was erected by the Fort Armstrong Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution to mark the site of the old United States fort.

Events in the Black Hawk War of 1832 have been marked as follows:—

At Stillman Valley a shaft of Barre granite, fifty feet high surmounted by the figure of a citizen soldier of heroic size, was erected in 1902 to mark the site and commemorate the names of the twelve soldiers who were killed by Black Hawk's Indians on May 14, 1832. The cost of this monument, five thousand dollars, was defrayed by an appropriation made by the Forty-second General Assembly of Illinois.

At Dixon a bronze tablet has been placed in the Howell Building, a mercantile house near the corner of First and Peoria streets, to mark the site of the cabin of John Dixon, one of the early settlers of Northern Illinois. Dixon came to this vicinity in 1828 and for many years thereafter was proprietor of Dixon's Ferry. Dixon's Ferry was the center of activities during the Black Hawk War, John Dixon being a prominent character, known to



the Indians as Nachusa. The tablet bears in relief the figure of a log cabin with an appropriate inscription and the names of Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Zachary Taylor, Edward D. Baker, Black Hawk, and other historical characters who were entertained at the cabin in the early days of Illinois history. The tablet was erected by the Dixon Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and was dedicated with fitting ceremonies on October 4, 1901.

In Kent Township a monument, known as the Black Hawk Monument, has been erected on the site of the battle ground of Kellogg's Grove to perpetuate the memory of those who were slain during the series of skirmishes with Indians in 1832. The monument is of native stone and is thirty-three and one-half feet high.

In Evergreen Cemetery at Morris in Grundy County a huge granite boulder, seven feet in diameter, was erected largely through the efforts of the Honorable Perry A. Armstrong to the memory of the Indian chief, Shabbona, who was known as the white man's friend.

In Shabbona Park, fourteen miles north of Ottawa in La Salle County, is a granite monument sixteen feet high and weighing twenty-five tons erected by the State of Illinois in memory of fifteen white people slain by a band of Black Hawk's Indians on May 20, 1832.

Incidents in the life of Abraham Lincoln have received considerable attention and numerous markers to commemorate such events have been erected. The various chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution have taken an active part in this work. They have marked the first Illinois home of Lincoln near Decatur, the old Macon County Court House, the pew in the church where Lincoln worshiped in Springfield, and the Hebard house at Knoxville where Mr. Lincoln stopped over night on his way to the debate at Galesburg.

Appropriate markers to commemorate the Lincoln-Douglas Debates have also been erected. At Freeport a granite boulder bearing a bronze tablet was the gift of the Woman's Club of Freeport. At Ottawa a boulder was placed by the Illinois Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. At Galesburg the college authorities placed a tablet in the walls of Knox College. At Jonesboro a boulder was given by the citizens of that place. At Quincy a boulder was given by citizens and the Chamber of Commerce. At Alton a tablet was placed in the City Hall, a gift from the citizens. Charleston, where one of the debates took place, has not been marked. Appropriate exercises were held at each place last year to commemorate the semi-centennial anniversary of the event.

The Sons of the American Revolution marked Lincoln's law office in Springfield by placing a tablet on the building.

At Chicago, in Lincoln Park, there is a statue of Abraham Lincoln by St. Gaudens, considered one of the finest portrait statues in the world. The figure represents Lincoln standing as though he has just risen and advanced from the chair which stands a few feet behind him. The figure and chair are of bronze on a massive granite base. The monument cost \$50,000, and is a gift to the city from Eli Bates, an old and honored citizen of Chicago. The statue was unveiled on October 22, 1887.

At Springfield, in a beautiful park of nine acres adjoining Oak Ridge Cemetery on the south, is the monument and tomb of Abraham Lincoln. The structure is of granite from the quarries of Quincy, Massachusetts, rising to a height of one hundred and twenty-five feet above the ground. The base is one hundred and nineteen and one-half feet in extreme length from north to south, and seventy-two and one-half feet east and west. It was erected by the Lincoln Monument Association. The ded-

icatory exercises were held October 15, 1874. The original cost was something more than \$200,000, and \$100,000 additional was spent on its reconstruction, 1899-1901, at which time the foundation was sunk to a depth of twenty-three feet below the surface instead of six feet, and twenty-one feet were added to the height of the shaft. In other respects no change was made in its construction. In 1895 the monument and grounds were transferred to the State by the Monument Association.

At the last meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, held on May 13 and 14, 1909, Congressman Frank O. Lowden donated seven hundred and fifty dollars to be used by the society in marking the line of march pursued by Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War. This work will be performed during the coming year.

Illinois governors, soldiers, and statesmen have been but slightly remembered. At Chicago, in Lincoln Park, is a monument to Ulysses S. Grant. It is an equestrian statue in bronze, by Rabisso, surmounting a massive granite base of the bridge type. It was presented by citizens of Chicago and cost \$100,000. The figure represents the General seated on his horse in one of his characteristic attitudes, and is considered a fine piece of work. The statue was unveiled on October 7, 1891, in the presence of the largest concourse of people ever gathered in the city up to that time.

In Springdale Cemetery, Springfield, is a monument erected at a cost of \$1,200, appropriated by the State, to mark the last resting place and to commemorate the public services of Thomas Ford, Governor of the State, 1842-1846. The monument is a sarcophagus of polished granite, on which the name "Ford" is cut on the front in large letters, and under this, in smaller letters, the inscription: "Erected by the State of Illinois, 1896."

At Alton, in the city cemetery, dedicated to the memory of Elijah P. Lovejoy, killed by a pro-slavery

mob on November 8, 1837, a monument has been erected at a cost of \$50,000, one-half of which was appropriated by the State and the remainder raised by popular subscription. The monument is a massive column of light Barre granite ninety-three feet in height surmounted by a bronze statue of Victory, seventeen feet high. The monument was dedicated November 8, 1897, the sixtieth anniversary of Lovejoy's death, and bears the inscription: "In Gratitude to God, and in the Love of Liberty, by the State of Illinois and the citizens of Alton."

In Woodland Park, Chicago, is a monument to Stephen A. Douglas by Leonard Volk. It is similar in type to that of the Grant monument. The shaft is something over one hundred feet in height and was erected by the State at a cost of \$100,000.

The John A. Logan statue, by St. Gaudens, is located in Grant Park, facing Michigan Boulevard, and is considered one of the best examples of its type. The General is represented as pulling in his horse while holding aloft the regimental standard as an inspiration to the troops whom he is urging forward. The horse and rider are in bronze resting upon a granite base. The monument was erected by means of a State appropriation of \$50,000 in 1897.

At Galena, in Grant Park, there is a bronze statue of General U. S. Grant resting upon a pedestal of red Maine granite with a polished tablet on each face. The only inscription is: "Grant—Our Citizen." The statue represents General Grant as he appeared on his return from the war, standing erect, the right hand thrust into his pocket and the left resting on his breast. The monument was donated by H. H. Kohlsaas to the city of Galena. It cost about \$10,000 and was unveiled June 3, 1891.

On the State House grounds at Springfield, east of the Capitol, there is a well executed bronze statue of

Pierre Menard, one of the most prominent of our pioneer citizens, the only presiding officer of the legislative council during the Territorial period, and the first Lieutenant Governor of the State. The statue represents Menard in the role of Indian trader, standing erect beside an Indian seated upon a bale of furs, each displaying a sample of his merchandise to the other. The group is mounted on a granite pedestal about ten feet in height upon the eastern face of which is the single word "Menard", the only inscription on the monument. The monument was erected in 1885 by Charles Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, in recognition of the public services and private virtues of his father's early business associate and life-long friend.

At Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, the State has erected a monument to the memory of Governor Bissell. The monument consists of a shaft of Italian marble about twenty feet in height resting upon a limestone base eight feet square, and is surmounted by the figure of an eagle with outstretched wings and holding a scroll in its beak. On the east face of the shaft is the inscription: "William H. Bissell, 10th Governor of the Illinois. Born April 15, 1811; died in office March 15, 1860." Below this inscription and surrounded by a wreath of oak and laurel, are the words: "Patriot, Statesman, Hero." Upon the opposite face is the further inscription: "This monument to his memory erected by the State, in gratitude for his many and varied services." The monument was erected in 1868 at a cost of \$5,000 appropriated by the legislature the previous year.

In Washington Park at Quincy, Adams County, is a life-size bronze statue of John Woods, the founder of the city of Quincy and who as Lieutenant Governor succeeded to the governorship on March 21, 1860, on the death of Governor William Bissell.

At Chester, in the city cemetery, there is a plain shaft of Barre granite, twenty-five feet in height, erected in 1883, at a cost of \$1,500 appropriated by the General Assembly. It is dedicated to the memory of Shadrach Bond, the first Governor of the State of Illinois.

On August 12, 1889, there was unveiled in Lincoln Park a magnificent statue of La Salle in bronze, the gift of the Honorable Lambert Tree, a member of the Chicago Historical Society.

The Chicago Historical Society has marked the starting point of the great fire of 1871. The house at 137 De Koven Street was marked by a tablet bearing the legend:

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1871  
ORIGINATED HERE AND EXTENDED TO  
LINCOLN PARK  
CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1891.

The Daughters of the American Revolution of Illinois have performed a most commendable work in erecting so many monuments to mark our historic sites. Their work should be an incentive to all of us to take hold and help in this most laudable of enterprises.

Our State has well remembered our citizen soldiers. In every county there is one and in many counties several monuments commemorating the deeds of heroism of our northern army. What we need now is to go back and fittingly mark the historic events in the early period of our State history.

Our last legislature passed a bill which has received the Governor's signature and is now a law, creating an Illinois Park Commission of five members to be appointed by the Governor. The duty of this commission will be to make an investigation of Starved Rock, the site of the French Fort, St. Louis, and its contiguous territory, to ascertain its adaptability for the purpose of a State Park and to make to the General Assembly a report containing such information, and also a report respecting other

regions in Illinois desirable for park purposes. Authority should also have been given to report on all historic spots, but the Commission's powers can and undoubtedly will be broadened, and some day we may look to see all of Illinois' historic sites marked.

In the northern part of the State we are doing a little. We shall soon erect a marker on the site of old Fort Armstrong to commemorate Dred Scott's two years' residence there, which habitation was the basis of his plea for freedom in the celebrated Dred Scott Case.

Preparations are under way to appropriately mark the old Sac village near the mouth of Rock River. This village was inhabited by these Indians for over one hundred years. It was twice destroyed by the Americans: the first time by Colonel John Montgomery and an army of three hundred and fifty men in 1780, acting under orders from Colonel George Rogers Clark; and the second time in 1831 by the Illinois Militia.

We expect also very soon to mark fittingly the site of the battle fought in September, 1814, on Credit Island in Iowa, opposite the City of Rock Island, by Major Zachary Taylor with an army of three hundred and sixty-three American soldiers in seven fortified keel-boats, and a company of British soldiers under Lieutenant Duncan Graham, reinforced by some eight hundred Sac, Fox, Sioux, and Winnebago Indians under the leadership of the Sac chief, Black Hawk.

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I am glad that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association has been formed. It has a mission broader than any one State, and one which needs the coöperation of all of the States.

On December 27, 1881, the Honorable E. B. Washburne addressed a letter to the Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, then president of the Chicago Historical Society in which he referred to a letter received from Pierre Mar-

gry, the French historian, calling his attention to the fact that the coming ninth day of April, 1882, would be the two hundredth anniversary of the first discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi by La Salle and suggesting that the Chicago Historical Society unite with the other societies of the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi to make a commemoration ceremony on that date. The matter was taken up by the Chicago Society and invitations sent to kindred societies in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, calling for a joint celebration to be held at New Orleans on April 9, 1882. The invitation was widely circulated and met with a cordial response from the societies throughout the valleys. However, owing to the disastrous flood of 1882 the celebration did not take place. This was the first effort for coöperation among the Mississippi Valley historical societies.

If this Association takes the initiative I believe that it will receive the cordial and earnest support of every State and local historical society in the Mississippi Valley, and that it will be possible to secure through the aid of our Federal and State governments sufficient funds to erect an imposing and suitable monument at the mouth of the Mississippi River to the memory of La Salle. With the prospect of a speedy joining of the Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico, La Salle's plan will have been carried out, and the American people will do themselves honor by even at this late day fittingly recognizing his great work.

I believe that it is also in the power of this Association to start a movement that will result in the erecting at the mouth of the Wisconsin River of a fitting monument commemorative of Joliet and Marquette's discovery of the Upper Mississippi River.



## THE RELATION OF STATE AND HISTORICAL LIBRARIES

BY FRANCIS A. SAMPSON

The historical society and the State library each has its appropriate place and work, and that work may or may not overlap. The historical society may properly have employees who write historical papers which the society prints for the benefit of the world at large; but a larger work that it must not leave undone is to collect the original sources of history and provide data for any one who wishes to make use of such material for the purpose of writing upon any phase of the history of his town, State, or nation—the political, social, religious, or literary history of the people.

In order to do this the historical society must not, as some perhaps imagine, confine itself to the collection of historical publications that have been prepared by workers elsewhere. It should build up a library that can be used by workers in all fields of investigation. To write educational history the student wants not simply what some other person has said on the subject, but he wants the journals of the legislature to see what laws were passed, or what laws failed of passage. He wants copies of all bills on educational subjects that were introduced into the general assembly and acted upon by it; he wants the catalogue and periodical publications of all the colleges and schools of the State, and of all school boards, with the courses of study and rules and regulations adopted by them. With these and other publications he is prepared to write an educational history which will be placed in the ordinary library, and which will be used by the

reader who wishes the facts and conclusions as worked out by one who has given more time to the subject than he can.

Similarly, if the student attempts to write on religious history he must have the statistics and minutes or proceedings of all the religious organizations, the associations, conferences, synods, presbyteries, or other religious bodies by whatever name known. If there has been any legislation or attempted legislation affecting his subject he must have whatever data may be found in the legislative records.

He could not write the history of the railroads without the annual reports made to the stockholders of the various lines, to the State railroad commissioners, and to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Along with these he must also have the record of legislation made or attempted.

If he writes of the intellectual achievements of the citizens of the State he will want to see all the books written by the citizens of the State, whatever the character of the publication may be. Similarly, whatever the subject of investigation may be he must have the publications affecting that subject, and for each and all of them one of the most important sources will be the newspapers and other periodical publications.

Such being the sources of the history with which the different investigators will deal, what publications are useless and not to be collected and preserved by the historical society? I am sure I do not know of any kind of publication that such a society should not preserve, unless it may be the statements and briefs in cases in the higher courts between individuals. These are, perhaps, fully enough preserved in the reports of the court decisions.

The historical society should collect, in the same manner as above indicated for the State, the publications of the part of the country closely related to his State, of

all the other States, and of the whole world — the degree of completeness decreasing with the remoteness of place and the want of available funds.

Now turn to the State library. What is its appropriate work? What was the original intention of the founders of such libraries? I think the facts will show that they were intended to be libraries for the use of the Supreme Court judges and of the attorneys practicing before that court. Then, as funds became available, other reading matter was provided for the judges and the State officials, including the works of history written by the workers among the original sources of history as found in the libraries of historical societies; books of literature, the novel, and the lighter literature of the day were added in time. In this condition many of the State libraries still remain.

Official publications which come to the State library from other States without solicitation are frequently stored away in boxes or in otherwise inaccessible places. Many of the State libraries do not have room to properly take care of such publications, and for that reason do not want them. In one case that I have in mind the librarian told me that the historical society could have all the publications of that State that were available, but nothing should be sent in return, since the library lacked the necessary space and employees to care for such books.

The eastern States and some of the western do not have State historical societies, and in some of these States the State librarians, where active and ambitious in the accumulation of material for a library, have taken upon themselves the work of an historical society. For instance, the New York State Library under Melvil Dewey reached out into all departments and all kinds of library work, claiming that in it should be combined the general work of the State for the collection not only of law publications, but also of the source materials that

belong peculiarly to the historical library. He would also do the work for which State library commissions have been created, and for which they would seem to be much better adapted — that of loaning books to citizens in different parts of the State, a work which the commissions have so effectively done by means of the traveling libraries.

In the States which have no State historical society and where the State librarian is disposed to take such work upon himself, there should be no objection to combination. But where there is a State historical society as well as a State library, a line of distinction in the activities of the two should be clearly drawn and maintained.

## EARLY BANKING IN KENTUCKY

By ELMER C. GRIFFITH

The oldest bank in the United States, it will be recalled, is the Bank of North America. It was chartered by the Continental Congress in 1781, being founded by Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution. The first bank of issue in this country had been previously incorporated in Massachusetts in 1739, and was soon followed by others — all of which, however, were forced into liquidation in 1740 by an act of Parliament.

The first remote approach to banking functions in Kentucky seems to have been rather accidentally begun by one John Sanders. His business was that of a trader. He came to Louisville in 1780, in his own boat, to ply his business. The flood carried his craft to a tree where he fastened it. Then, after the water had receded, the boat was converted into a store-house for pelts. For some time the unit in matters of trade and exchange had been the beaver skin.

Sanders purchased skins on time from the settlers and trappers and gave his receipts therefor; later he would redeem his paper (the receipts) having meanwhile disposed of his stock to eastern or southern buyers. Until this was done the acknowledgments thus given circulated among the people, in business transactions, finally to be redeemed by the local dealer, who met his obligation by settling with the last holder at the close of the season's business. In a way these receipts were of the nature of certificates of deposit, skins instead of gold and silver being their basis.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Durrett's *The Centenary of Louisville* (Filson Club Publications, No. 8), pp. 106, 107.

As the country became more attractive to settlers the emigration of people from the eastward in the next few years brought in quantities of the depreciated continental money of the Revolutionary period, until \$1,000 of the paper money issued by Congress had depreciated to a purchasing value of but one silver dollar.<sup>2</sup>

The uncertain fluctuation of these notes naturally made the settlers opposed to receiving them. And so tobacco and skins came to be preferred as a medium of exchange. To add to the general financial confusion banks in eastern States were issuing their notes and sending them through trade into far off Kentucky. There it was hoped they would continue to circulate so that the issuing banks would not be called upon to redeem them.

With such conditions prevailing it became necessary for Virginia, of which Kentucky was then a part, to pass a law in 1785 to exclude from circulation notes of private banks. To accomplish this it was provided that whenever a person should offer such a note, payable to bearer, to discharge his debt, he made himself liable for ten times the face of the note. The creditor or informer received the fine; while the debtor, if the judge favored it, could be put on his good behavior by the court. This law became effective the first of the year 1787.

Beginning with the close of the year 1793, whenever bills of exchange were drawn on a non-resident of Kentucky and the bill was protested for non-payment a charge of five per cent interest with a protest charge of ten per cent additional on the face of the bill could be collected from the drawers of the bill. The interest rate on such bills was doubled in 1798. And in the same year it was provided that whenever a domestic bill of exchange for five English pounds sterling or more was drawn at any place in Kentucky upon another resident of the State,

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<sup>2</sup> Durrett's *The Centenary of Louisville* (Filson Club Publications, No. 8), p. 197.

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whenever the paper was not accepted and then paid within three days after due, the drawers were required to pay face and interest. Such bills had formerly been drawn when the only object sought was to gain time and let the bill act as a circulating medium until presented to the original drawer of the bill. The law sought to discourage such practice. By an act of January 10, 1820, when there was a stringency in money matters in Kentucky, a law was enacted which repealed the ten per cent damages on the protest of bills of exchange drawn in Kentucky and payable in some other State or Territory.

The new and expanding country of Kentucky with its increased business needed more money. In 1799 Governor James Garrard in his message outlined reasons for the revision and amendment of the State revenue laws. The House in considering the message deemed the "increasing scarcity of money" as an additional reason. And then the legislature summed up Kentucky's financial outlook and explained the cause of the financial stringency as follows: "Notwithstanding some discouraging circumstances, notwithstanding the balance of trade is against us which occasions a general complaint of the scarcity of money; yet we congratulate you that our population and agriculture continue to flourish and improve."

The first effort to establish a bank within the limits of Kentucky was made in the State legislature in 1802. The company then incorporated was known as the Kentucky Insurance Company. The charter given the incorporators provided, in twenty-five sections, for a company which would insure river boats and their cargoes on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The charter granted was to continue until January 1, 1818, and the company was to be located at Lexington and to be capitalized at \$100,000.

Banking powers and privileges were conferred upon the company by the twentieth section in these words: "And every bond, bill obligatory, or note in writing, given by the said president and directors in behalf of the said Insurance Company shall be assignable by endorsement thereon, in like manner and with the like effect as foreign bills of exchange now are; and such of the notes as are payable to bearer, shall be negotiable and assignable by delivery only." The company was also given the right to deal in exchange and to loan its money at six per cent interest.

Thus the Kentucky Insurance Company of Lexington was given unlimited power to issue any amount of a circulating medium it might determine upon. Unrestricted powers of such magnitude without any concessions granted in return have rarely been granted by any State.

It is usual to assert that the provision which conferred the banking powers on the Insurance Company was overlooked by the legislature and not fully understood by that body. We are told that the company was incorporated by its promoters chiefly for banking business, but realizing that the public was bitterly opposed to bank notes the disguise of an insurance company was taken to avoid possible opposition.

Be that as it may, two years later, December 19, 1804, the legislature in seeking to remedy the weakness of the charter which placed no limit on the amount of notes that the Insurance Company might issue and circulate, restricted at that time the issue to the aggregate of the debts due the company, including both good and bad debts, the money on hand, property, both personal and real, together with their capital stock. This act provided that insurance risks could not be considered the property of the Company; it also repealed the provision



of the charter which gave the corporation exclusive insurance business.

Thus in 1804 the legislature openly conferred upon the Insurance Company the right to issue bank notes. It also provided for a penalty in case there was an over-issue of circulating notes. In case an excess were issued no penalty was attached if the corporation redeemed the notes. If the outstanding notes, in excess of the amount provided for by law, were not thus redeemed, the president and directors were liable with their private fortunes. That the question of over-issue might be determined, the books of the corporation could be called into court.

The legal issue of notes might, therefore, amount to \$300,000 or over without any provision for a reserve to redeem them. The purpose of the law seems to have been to give the popular mind confidence in the notes of the Insurance Company.<sup>3</sup>

At the session of the legislature in 1805 an attempt was made to revoke the entire charter of the Company and to allow it to become a branch of the Kentucky Bank, which it was proposed to establish.

As a part of a resolution which Henry Clay offered to the committee of the whole house, considering the state of the Commonwealth, it was proposed that the act establishing the Insurance Company and the amending act thereto be repealed, to go into effect May 1, 1806. This proposal was adopted. Governor Greenup was opposed to the repeal of the charter and vetoed the bill, thus preventing the violation of its contract.<sup>4</sup>

It was openly charged in the newspapers in 1807 that Col. Aaron Burr, while at Lexington, had drawn

<sup>3</sup> See Duke's *History of the Bank of Kentucky, 1798-1895*, pp. 11, 12; also Durrett's *Early Banking in Kentucky in the Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Kentucky Bankers' Association*, 1892, pp. 35-45.

<sup>4</sup> Durrett's *Early Banking in Kentucky in the Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Kentucky Bankers' Association*, 1892, pp. 35-45.

bills on a New York house at sixty days amounting to the sum of \$44,000, which he sold to the merchants of Lexington.<sup>5</sup> It was now reported that those bills would be protested. It was also said that other towns in the West would suffer in the same way through "this man's desperate attempts". A few years later, 1811, it was charged again in the press that the Insurance Company by giving credit to Burr had enabled him to get credit from the local merchants.<sup>6</sup> In some instances it was said that the merchants had then purchased Burr's bills with their own notes. These were sold, it was claimed, to the Insurance Company, which in turn issued in exchange their post-notes payable in one hundred and twenty days. And thus the Company was supposed to have financed Burr while he was in Lexington, to the decided gain of the Insurance Company.

The main source, however, of the Company's dividends was accounted for on the ground that the business world preferred the bank notes to the bulky and heavy silver; while the demand for the notes was such that they passed in New Orleans at 101½ to 102.<sup>7</sup>

In the year 1811 another spirited effort was made to have the legislature investigate the Insurance Company. Attacks were made upon it in letters printed in the press and addressed to the law-makers. It was charged that one-third of the stock of the Company was owned by a loyal British subject. Further, it was asserted that this bank was loaning money at two and one-half and three per cent interest a month, contrary to its articles of incorporation. These communications charged that for the first two years of the Company's existence, while there was positive opposition to the corporation, insurance was furnished at a reasonable rate. Before the

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<sup>5</sup> *The Mirror* (Russellville, Kentucky), January 9, 1807.

<sup>6</sup> *Kentucky Gazette* (Lexington), December 17, 1811.

<sup>7</sup> *The Fredonian* (Chillicothe, Ohio), May 16, 1807.

Kentucky Insurance Company was established similar insurance could have been purchased from eastern concerns at a reasonable premium; but as the rate was raised by the home company in Kentucky the eastern corporations advanced their rates as well. The Company was accused of "shaving" by buying bills of exchange on an eastern city at par and then selling them at from two to two and one-half per cent advance. In some instances they accepted notes on eastern banks at par only to part with them to merchants who had made purchases in the East at an advance of six to seven per cent.<sup>8</sup>

These attacks were so keen that they brought from the officers of the Insurance Company a public admission that a Mrs. Gapper, formerly of England but then an inhabitant of the United States and a resident of Philadelphia, owned upwards of a third of the capital stock.<sup>9</sup>

These newspaper attacks accomplished nothing so far as the legislature was concerned. The Senate succeeded in passing a resolution seeking to prevent "loyal subjects of foreign powers" from governing the Insurance Company; but the House adjourned without action and the charter remained unaltered.

The stability of the organization is indicated by an order from the Treasury of the State under date of October 28, 1814, which stated that the bank notes from the Bank of Kentucky with its branch banks and the notes of the Insurance Company were the only bank notes which would be receivable at the Treasury.<sup>10</sup> On February 8, 1815, the notes of the Kentucky Insurance Company were made receivable in payment of county levies, officers' fees, and military fines. This provision continued in force until it was repealed on November 23, 1820.

<sup>8</sup> *Kentucky Gazette* (Lexington), December 10, 17, 24, 31, 1811.

<sup>9</sup> *Kentucky Gazette* (Lexington), December 31, 1811.

<sup>10</sup> *Argus of Western America* (Frankfort, Kentucky), November 13, 1814.

The charter of the Insurance Company expired January 1, 1818, but a law of February 3 of that year continued the part of the charter which did not refer to banking concessions, for two additional years.

This so-called Insurance Company had developed the functions of banking to such an extent that the legislature deemed it advisable even as late as 1831, in incorporating the Louisville Merchants' Insurance Company, to definitely specify "that in no case shall it exercise the business of banking by issuing notes as incorporated bank." It is a fact that the Kentucky Insurance Company flourished and declared good dividends which were made possible by the large issue of notes.

The success of this experiment in matters of finance provided the occasion for chartering a State Bank with banking privileges only in 1806. The proposal to incorporate such a bank had been considered by the legislature in December, 1805.<sup>11</sup> On December 26, 1806, the Senate adopted the House bill to establish a State Bank by a vote of sixteen to five.<sup>12</sup>

The law incorporating the Bank of Kentucky located the main bank at Frankfort. It granted the privilege of removal, however, in case the State capital should be removed. It was capitalized at one million dollars, and shares of \$100 each were to be issued. One-half of the total number of shares was to be reserved to the State, while forty per cent of the shares thus reserved to the State was to be withheld until the bank was organized. This was not a serious hindrance, since the bank could be organized when but 20,000 of its million dollars of capital had been paid in.

Popular subscriptions for 3,000 shares were to be received at specified times at the State capital and at ten additional Kentucky cities. The shares unsold and

<sup>11</sup> *Journal of the Senate of Kentucky*, 1805, December 13, pp. 79, 80.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal of the Senate of Kentucky*, 1806, p. 138.

not reserved to the State could be disposed of by the president and directors. The bank was chartered for approximately fifteen years — until December 1, 1821. By an act of February 6, 1819, the charter was extended until the close of 1841. The State was given the controlling interest by the selection of half of the directors together with the president, who were to be appointed by the State legislature. No single individual or corporation could hold in its own right or by proxy over thirty votes. The bank was forbidden to hold possession of lands and buildings, beyond such property as was needed for its business and that which was held by mortgage or in trust as security for loans. The powers of the corporation were expressly limited to banking business dealing in discounts and loans, with the maximum rate limited to six per cent, bills of exchange and money, with the power of disposing of property forfeited as security for loans.

The issue of notes plus the debts of the bank was limited to three times the capital over and above the deposits in the bank. An issue of notes in excess of this amount, if not redeemed by the bank itself or its resources, must be satisfied by the shareholders, whose property for such over-issue became liable in case they had favored or not protested against the bank's proceedings.

To safeguard the public the Governor could demand weekly reports of the bank, and the legislature was entitled to an annual report. The bank was prohibited from purchasing notes of individuals, corporations, or partners unless such notes had specified on their face that they were negotiable at the bank.

The Bank of Kentucky began operations on October 12, 1807, with six hundred shares belonging to the State paid in full and with five hundred and forty-two private

shares subscribed.<sup>13</sup> The subscription at Russellville closed October first.<sup>14</sup>

Substantial gains to Kentucky were predicted by those in Ohio who had been desirous of having a bank organized in Ohio instead of Kentucky.<sup>15</sup> With the bank thus established, specie would be received in Kentucky for the land sold in Ohio. Kentucky was no longer dependent upon bank-notes from other States; the specie would cease to leave the State, while formerly the Kentuckians had been compelled to receive notes of outside banks in place of specie.

The notes of the Bank of Kentucky were early discriminated against by the State itself. An act passed on February 24, 1808, provided that in case the State Treasurer could not cash the Auditor's warrants the Bank of Kentucky would be authorized to receive and pay them in specie, being entitled to interest from the State. The bank was soon paying good dividends. The last half of the year 1810 it paid four per cent; the following semi-annual dividend was four and one-half per cent; the next dividend was five per cent; and the following was five per cent for six months. The Joint Committee of the legislature reported on January 5, 1811, that the Bank had been "conducted with benefit to the Commonwealth", and "has deserved the confidence of the legislature and of the community".<sup>16</sup>

That the profits proved to be satisfactory might perhaps be expected from the economy practiced by the Bank. This is shown by such newspaper advertisements

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<sup>13</sup> *Kentucky Gazette and General Advertiser* (Lexington), January 5, 1808, Governor Greenup's Message.

<sup>14</sup> *The Mirror* (Russellville, Kentucky), September 26, 1807.

<sup>15</sup> *The Fredonian* (Chillicothe, Ohio), May 9, 1807.

<sup>16</sup> *Argus of Western America* (Frankfort, Kentucky), January 21, 1811; July 3, 10, 17, 1811; January 1 and July 1, 1812.

as the following: "Blank checks on the Bank of Kentucky for sale at the office of The Palladium."<sup>17</sup>

The profits were carefully calculated by the branch banks in considering the notes accepted for discount. For example, the directors of the Lexington Branch Bank held regular meetings on Wednesdays and Saturdays at three o'clock, at which time they considered the notes that had been offered to the bank for discount. The requirement of the bank was that these notes, offered to the bank for purchase, must be deposited in the institution between the hours of ten and two on the days when the directors met. Thus we see that bank directors in 1814 shared actively in a greater responsibility in the management of the banks than is usually the practice at present.<sup>18</sup> The Russellville Branch Bank in 1808 established the same discount days but required the notes offered for discount to be deposited in the bank on the two days prior to the directors' meetings.<sup>19</sup>

By 1812 the banking business had come to be recognized as a profitable enterprise. Private companies had sprung into existence and were loaning money, and as private banks were issuing notes which passed into circulation. To control and partly monopolize the banking business the State legislature passed a law on February 8th forbidding any person to act in any capacity as the representative of any private bank, or of a monied association which had not been authorized by law. The violation of this act entailed a penalty of \$10,000. A bank was defined as having the functions of lending money and of issuing circulating notes. Private banks were denied the use of the courts for lawsuits. It was provided that the law should go into effect within two days, exempting

<sup>17</sup> *Palladium* (Frankfort, Kentucky), May 25, 1811; *Kentucky Gazette* (Lexington), September 22, 1812 (Bills of Lading and Exchange).

<sup>18</sup> *Kentucky Gazette* (Lexington), November 28, 1814.

<sup>19</sup> *The Mirror* (Russellville, Kentucky), June 9, 1808. Bank minutes of June 2, 1808.

the companies then in existence until the first of December, in order that they might settle their affairs, while the private bank of Louisville was made exempt for an additional period of ten days.

In some respects the Bank of Kentucky did not achieve the degree of success that had been anticipated. The amount of notes put into circulation was large. Early in October of 1814 the directors of the Bank of Kentucky called a meeting, at Frankfort, of representatives of the banks of Kentucky and of the principal banks of Ohio. It was agreed at this conference that the banks should reduce the amount of their paper notes then in circulation in order to prepare for an emergency. But on December 27 some Ohio banks notified the Bank of Kentucky that they would suspend specie payment, since the West was being drained of specie by the East. This proved to be the signal for the Kentucky Bank to likewise suspend.<sup>20</sup>

The suspension of the payment of its notes called forth an investigation by the two houses of the legislature. It resulted in the joint committee of the two houses fully exonerating the Bank officials. It declared suspension a "prudent step", and recommended to the citizens of the State the acceptance of the notes of the Bank and its branches in payment of debts "as a safe and convenient circulating medium".<sup>21</sup> The joint committee for the following year reported to the legislature that the amount of bank notes in circulation was small as compared with the bank's capital. The committee expressed the belief that the bank could resume specie payment at that time were it not that the banks of adjacent States would likely draw off the specie from Kentucky.

The profits for 1815 ran from nearly four per cent in the Danville Branch, to over nine per cent in the Lex-

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<sup>20</sup> *Journal of the Senate of Kentucky, 1814-1815*, pp. 78-82.

<sup>21</sup> *Journal of the Senate of Kentucky, 1814-1815*, pp. 77, 78.



ington Branch. It should be borne in mind, however, that some of the expenses of the branch banks were incurred and carried by the principal bank—as was the case in the printing of notes.<sup>22</sup>

Did time but permit there might be traced the interesting history of the forty-six independent banks established by the State in 1818, which were capitalized at nearly nine million dollars. Speculation and inflation ensued, causing the repeal of their charters two years later. The preamble of this law sought to justify the repeal of the charters in the following words:

Whereas in the tenth article of the Constitution of Kentucky it is declared: First, that all freemen, when they form a social compact, are equal; and that no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive, separate public emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services; And secondly that all power is inherent in the people; and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness. And whereas, it is self-evident, according to those fundamental principles of government, that all laws which grant to a few, the power to oppress the many, are tyrannical in their nature, and adverse to the primitive rights of the people; and therefore, repealable by the supreme authority.

The legislature was thus usurping some of the prerogatives of a supreme court.

It would also be interesting to trace the attempts of the State to collect a tax from the United States Bank; or to follow the legislation enacted giving to manufacturing concerns banking powers. Among this number was the Sanders Manufacturing Company, incorporated in 1818. The law required this company, to which it gave banking privileges, to maintain a school for the instruction of the children employed in the factory—which may perhaps be considered an effort to regulate the em-

<sup>22</sup> *Journal of the Senate of Kentucky, 1815-1816, pp. 144-148.*

ployment of children. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century Kentucky may be characterized as a State engaged in making banking experiments.

## REMARKS ON THE STUDY OF ABORIGINAL AMERICAN HISTORY

BY WILLIAM H. HOLMES

The movement culminating in the present meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association is in every way most commendable and if reasonably supported and followed up must yield results of great value to the history of the American Nation and its founders, as well as to the history and pre-history of the native race. The historian treating of the present period must depict with equal care all the ethnic elements of the Valley, native and intrusive, and must project them against the background of the local environment. But beyond the limit of a few generations he must project all the exotic elements of race and culture against the diversified background of transatlantic surroundings, and, while the native peoples have held a longer tenure in the New World, they also hark back, in times indefinitely remote and through unknown highways of migration, to the common home of humanity in some unidentified corner of the ancient world.

Aboriginal American history may be studied through the living representatives of the native race, by appealing to the records and traditions of the white race during the short period of its occupancy of the country and through the records of past ages still existing upon the surface of the land or stored in the superficial strata of the earth's crust. The relations of the races and peoples in the history and pre-history of the Valley may be illustrated by reference to the history of a single site — that of the city of St. Louis. The historian resorts to unwrit-

ten observations and written records to tell the story of the present and the near past — the historic period proper. The story of the English occupancy extends over a period only slightly exceeding a hundred years, and the superficial deposits underlying the present pavements of the city must contain more or less definite traces of this occupancy — the archæological record of the period — but owing to the plenitude of current knowledge and of written records these traces are not required by the historian. The native race has but a meagre representation in the records, historic or archæologic, of this period. The preceding periods of French and Spanish occupancy are also recorded in documentary form and in more or less well defined deposits underlying those of the English period; but in these cases again the archæological record is not required by the historian. The native tribes had a larger share in the activities of this than in the English period, but receive meagre mention in the writings of the intruders; and the buried traces of their handiwork are probably limited in number and widely variant from pristine forms. Beyond the coming of the French pioneers tradition furnishes a scanty and indefinite record, but the archæological record imbedded in the fourth stratum of deposit should, if properly searched, provide the historian with data of great value. Herein, and in corresponding deposits elsewhere, are buried the answers to many of the great problems of the peopling and the peoples of the Valley of the Mississippi.

The labors of the historian in the aboriginal field have to do with diversified subject-matter which is conveniently classified, for purposes of research and record, in three grand divisions, namely: (1) Physical Anthropology; (2) Ethnology; and (3) Archæology. The various problems to be considered within these realms may receive brief attention in this place. Within recent years

ethnological research has been placed on a high plane and much excellent work has been done in the study of the native tribes. The various problems have received careful attention and some of the greater ones have been fully and others tentatively solved, but a vast deal yet remains to be done. Among all the published results of researches dealing with these people there is as yet not a complete record of any single family, tribe, or tribal group. No single student has been able to compass the vast and varied subject, and it is not probable that anyone ever will produce a complete unit of ethnological research. The complete tribal unit of research includes monographic treatment of the following topics:

1. The physical and mental characters.
2. The language — its phonology, morphology, syntax, and etymology.
3. The religion, its rites and ceremonies, its myths and folklore.
4. The social organization in all its phases.
5. The arts and industries — an extensive series.
6. The esthetic activities — including music, painting, sculpture, and the embellishing arts generally.
7. The diversional activities — including games and pageants.
8. The tribal history, traditions, and available archaeological records.

It seems unlikely that any single life is equal to the accomplishment of so great a task, and the researches of many students among many tribes must be relied upon to give to future generations a complete composite picture of the peoples and their life. The study of the tribes, however, is going steadily forward, and the great body of data thus accumulated will serve not only as a precious record of the historic natives soon to disappear; but it will serve, as no other body of ethnological data can, to illumine the shadowy pages of pre-history and

make clear the manner of life of all peoples during the stages of their progress preceding the invention of letters.

Archæology is called upon to assist Ethnology in carrying backward the history of particular tribes and groups of people, and much interest is centered about this branch of research. But the tribal threads are soon lost. The traces of one group blend with those of other groups and the archæologist turns from the study of particular tribes, which are but passing episodes in the history of the greater groups, to a much wider field embracing such problems as (1) the origin and evolution of the race, (2) migrations, (3) culture progress, (4) influence of environment, and (5) the vastly interesting questions of chronology.

It is apparent from these considerations that within the aboriginal field of research the historian has a most important mission to perform; and the various societies of the Mississippi Valley, historical and anthropological, may contribute largely to the good cause by promoting as the occasion arises:

1. A more liberal financial support for research and publication.
2. A better understanding of the problems to be dealt with.
3. More intelligent and uniform methods of research.
4. A wider and more popular publication.
5. A larger appreciative audience.
6. An increase in the number of efficient workers.

Available funds are the sinews of research, since continued high-grade work cannot be sustained without liberal expenditure.

The government devotes a few thousands of dollars each year to well-considered, systematic work.

Explorers employing their own private funds contribute many thousands each year.

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Patrons of the science by supplying funds to institutions and individuals do much to advance research.

Educational institutions from their limited resources for research purposes occasionally put parties in the field and publish the results.

Societies devoted to anthropological science conduct systematic work on a commendable scale.

It is most important that means of increasing the available funds for research be devised, and with this end in view efforts should be made to multiply societies, increase membership, and interest those who are able to give financial aid.

The work of the various agencies of scientific research has been in a large manner sporadic and without proper correlation. The betterment of these conditions should result from concerted movements and coöperation such as the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association represents.

The isolated student pursues his investigations blindly, without an adequate knowledge of the methods and purposes of research or the kind of record to be made. His work is thus often destructive rather than constructive. The influence of more fortunate workers in the same field should be extended to him through personal contact such as may result from public meetings and by wide publication of the results of research. Through the same agencies the commercial collector and the curiosity hunter, who explore but to destroy, should be led to realize the enormity of their sins against science. The unwary amateur, and the publisher of hasty conclusions, should be repeatedly warned against the pitfalls of error that open wide and deep along their pathway. Full publicity is the best remedy for such evils.

Fortunately present facilities for publication of high-class anthropological papers are excellent, and a number of channels are always open. It has been suggested that

each of our States and Territories might find it feasible to undertake the publication of handbooks devoted to the local aboriginal history, and that these might be profitably employed in the schools. The Bureau of American Ethnology would be glad to coöperate in such an undertaking. It may be noted here that the Bureau has in view on its own account a series of handbooks dealing each with a single grand division of the numerous topics briefly treated in the present Handbook of the Indians. As with the latter work the preparation of the matter would be intrusted to those persons best qualified to present the various subjects in the most scientific and effective manner.

Already there is a wide appreciation of the efforts of ethnologists and archæologists to preserve an adequate record of the native tribes, but not such a wide and general appreciation as the work should command. The founding of societies of the Archæological Institute of America in various sections of the country is a movement of great importance. The organization of these societies among the class of people who are interested, or who may become so, and who are able to contribute a small sum annually to a fund, part of which is devoted to the American field, must necessarily tend to enlarge the audience and greatly increase the number of those who may contribute in a large way. Like results are to be anticipated from the organization of local societies, archæological, ethnological, and historical, and the increasing number of these is a most promising sign of the times.

The setting aside by the national government of reservations, parks, and national monuments containing antiquities, and the exploration and restoration of the important ruins located thereon, under the joint auspices of the government departments and the Smithsonian Institution are giving wide publicity to the fact that we have in America antiquities worthy of world-wide attention.



Unfortunately the force of trained workers in Anthropology can be increased but slowly. The universities may turn out ethnologists and archaeologists without stint, but in the absence of funds to give them employment little advantage is gained. There are few opportunities in the anthropologic field worthy of a reasonable ambition. This, in a measure, can be remedied by the upbuilding of museums requiring curatorships and by establishing chairs of Anthropology in institutions of learning. It is not to be expected that the government will materially increase its force of ethnologists, and the States as a rule are not in a position to organize ethnological surveys. The serious difficulty in enlisting the coöperation of national and State governments is that this branch of research includes so few of the elements usually regarded as "practical."

Purely scientific work does not appeal to legislators whose lives are devoted largely to the material interests of the immediate present. It is difficult to make them realize that the American Nation has a real, practical responsibility in preserving an adequate history of the American race — one of the four great races of humanity — which it is so rapidly destroying. The statement that the work of recording the history of these people must be attended to now — or never — falls lightly upon their ears; and the fact that the native tribes, together with their language and peculiar culture, are disappearing from the face of the earth at the rate of three or four per year, and in an increasing ratio, is not given serious consideration.

The importance of the work from the national as well as from the scientific and historical points of view will be realized later, and it is safe to say that the ethnological publications of the government will in future generations be the most precious of the many series of volumes issued from the national press. After the present

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generation has passed away there will be no opportunity to repeat the work which we are now doing, and as a record of primitive peoples this work, along with the work emanating from other and private sources, will stand alone on the pages of the world's history.

From present indications it would appear that the great bulk of the burden of responsibility for the work of anthropological research in the future must fall upon the shoulders of societies and private institutions and such patrons as may appreciate at their just value the efforts being made to preserve a reasonably complete history of the fast-vanishing American race and its remarkable culture. The responsibility should be assumed with appropriate courage.

## THE ELECTION OF THE FIRST UNITED STATES SENATORS FROM IOWA

BY DAN ELBERT CLARK

The long deadlock, from 1846 to 1848, which preceded the election of the first United States Senators was one of the most dramatic episodes in the political history of Iowa, and has, moreover, a significance and an interest which extend beyond the bounds of the State. Not only was the young Commonwealth for two years deprived of its right to be heard in the Senate, but the whole West suffered to a certain extent from the lack of the influence which two loyal western Senators would have exerted in behalf of the welfare of the whole region, at a time when such influence was badly needed.

Furthermore, this election contest is of interest on account of the character of the men who were finally chosen. One of them, Augustus Caesar Dodge, was born not sixty miles from St. Louis, at Ste. Genevieve, and was, according to his biographer, the first United States Senator born west of the Mississippi River. After a successful term in the Senate, he served as United States minister at the Court of Spain. The other Senator, George W. Jones, was born in Indiana, but early in life he moved across the Mississippi and like Dodge resided for a time at Ste. Genevieve. He served two terms in the Senate and then accepted from President Buchanan the post of Consul at Bogota.

In view of the broader significance of this election, therefore, it may not be out of place at a meeting of this character to consider briefly the main facts in an incident which on its face might seem of interest only in the local history of the Commonwealth of Iowa.

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When, late in the summer of 1846, the long controversy over boundaries had been settled and it was definitely decided that Iowa should be admitted into the Union, leading politicians began to cast their nets for the many choice offices which statehood would create. The most coveted of the new offices naturally were the two seats in the United States Senate, and the contest began early and grew in bitterness as time progressed.

The first general election for State officers and for members of the General Assembly was held on October 26, 1846. During the weeks immediately preceding the election newspaper editors called the attention of their readers to the fact that two United States Senators were to be chosen by the General Assembly, and that the political complexion of the legislature would determine whether Whigs or Democrats would receive these much desired offices. National as well as local issues were freely discussed during the campaign which was one of unusual activity.

The Democrats were the dominant party in Iowa at this time, and on October 26, 1846, they elected their entire State ticket and secured twelve of the nineteen Senators; while the Whigs elected twenty out of the thirty-nine Representatives. Thus it appeared that the Democrats would have a clear majority on joint ballot, and would be able to reward two of their faithful leaders by electing them to the dignified position of United States Senator. Consequently it was within the ranks of the Democratic party that the greatest hopes were raised. Candidates for the nomination announced themselves early, and began to canvass the State in support of their claims. Among the Whigs there were doubtless many who looked with equal longing toward the senatorships, but belonging to the minority party, they lacked the prospect of probable or even possible success to inspire them to an active campaign. It was not until after

the assembling of the legislature, when the outlook was brighter, that the Whig aspirants seem to have exerted themselves to any great extent.

A stir was produced in both parties, however, when it was discovered that in Lee County an independent legislative ticket, composed of both Whigs and Democrats, had been elected, and that the orthodoxy of the three Locofoco members could not be depended upon. Naturally there was much speculation as to the course these three Independent Democrats from Lee County would take in the election of United States Senators. If they should vote with the Democrats it was reasonably certain that Locofoco Senators would be chosen. On the other hand, if they voted with the Whigs there might be a victory for that party; while if they should vote independently they might even prevent an election. Thus an element of uncertainty added interest to the contest, and both parties manœvered for the support of the three doubtful members.

A majority of the Democrats of the southern part of the State, from the first, seem to have favored Augustus Cæsar Dodge, of Burlington, whose services for two years as Register of the Land Office at Burlington had made him many friends, and who, as Delegate to Congress for six years, had demonstrated his ability to care faithfully for the interests of his constituents. In the northern portion of the State popular sentiment among the Democrats was divided in support of a number of men, the most prominent of whom were Judge Thomas S. Wilson, Stephen Hempstead, and Lewis A. Thomas — all of Dubuque. The northern and southern portions of the State were equally determined that the other section should not capture both of the senatorships. Thus, at this early date there was begun that sectional strife which for so many years troubled the waters of the senatorial sea at election time. Indeed, it was not until in com-

paratively recent years that the discordant cry of the sectionalist ceased to be heard whenever a new Senator was to be selected.

The meeting of the First General Assembly of the new State at Iowa City, on November 30, 1846, drew to the seat of government a great number of people from all parts of the State. "The taverns and all the private boarding houses are crowded to overflowing" was the statement of a local editor. "Some have come hither to enjoy a few gala days with their friends in the legislature, and to see the wheels of the new government set in motion; but from the Senatorial and Judge-like faces, which meet us at every turn, we are inclined to believe that nearly half of the lobby members are aspirants to seats in the United States Senate, or on the Supreme Bench of Iowa, or the influential friends of those who aspire to put on the Senatorial robe, or the ermine of Justice."

Both parties held early caucuses. Although no records have been found, the Whigs seem to have determined upon Jonathan McCarty and Gilbert C. R. Mitchell; while Judge Thomas S. Wilson and Augustus Cæsar Dodge were the choice of the Democrats.

On Saturday, December 5, 1846, a resolution was adopted in the House of Representatives providing for a joint convention for the election of United States Senators and Supreme Court Judges. The resolution was sent to the Senate where certain amendments were made. The House refused to concur in these amendments, the Senate insisted, and the House continued to disagree. A committee of conference was appointed by each house, but all to no purpose; affairs seemed at a standstill.

In the midst of these proceedings, when the atmosphere was already overcharged with excitement, a new sensation was caused by exposure of an attempt at bribery. Shortly after two o'clock on the afternoon of De-

ember 9, 1846, Nelson King, member from Keokuk County, rose in his place in the House of Representatives, and announced that since taking his seat he had been approached by several persons with offers of pecuniary and other reward if he would vote for Augustus Cæsar Dodge or J. C. Hall for Senator. An investigating committee was immediately appointed and excitement reigned high. In the discomfiture of the Democrats at King's startling announcement the Whigs found a soothing balm for their own wounded feelings. The attempt at bribery and corruption furnished Whig newspaper men with abundant material for columns of scathing denunciation and stinging satire.

Meanwhile both branches of the General Assembly were endeavoring to secure a joint convention upon terms which accorded with the wishes of their respective majorities. The Democrats in the Senate insisted on choosing the Senators before going into an election for Judges; while the Whig Representatives were equally determined that the Judges should be selected first. However, when the legislature had been in session three weeks and the prospect of an agreement seemed as distant as ever, the Whigs were ready to recede from their uncompromising position and make concessions to the Locofocos. Consequently, after some further difficulty, satisfactory arrangements were made.

On Friday morning, December 18, 1846, the two houses of the General Assembly of Iowa met for the first time in joint convention for the election of United States Senators. No doubt deep silence reigned over the crowded hall as Silas A. Hudson began to read the alphabetical list of members, and each in turn cast his ballot for the man of his choice. When the last name had been called and the votes were counted, it was found that Jonathan McCarty, the Whig candidate, had received twenty-nine votes; while Thomas S. Wilson, the Democratic nominee,

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had only twenty-eight votes. Senator Huner and Representatives Clifton and Conlee, the doubtful members from Lee County, voted for McCarty, but to the surprise of all, Senator Fullenwider, a staunch Whig, cast his ballot for Gilbert C. R. Mitchell. Thirty votes were necessary to elect, and therefore Samuel Fullenwider's failure to vote with his Whig brethren was the means of defeating McCarty.

When the result was announced the excitement which had been suppressed during the balloting burst all bounds and a lively scene ensued, ending in an adjournment of the joint convention until January 5, 1847. The recess was a period of scheming and intrigue on the part of the aspirants for the senatorships, and in the public press a bitter and vituperative war of words was waged.

On the morning of January 5, the Senate was informed that the House would be prepared to meet in joint convention that afternoon at two o'clock. Two o'clock came, but no Senators appeared in the hall of the House of Representatives, and again the chief clerk was sent to remind them that the hour for the joint convention had arrived. The summons passed unheeded. The Democratic majority in the Senate, seeing no possibility of electing Locofocos, was determined to prevent any election. Day after day passed and even the most optimistic lost all hope of electing United States Senators. Resolutions were passed by the House, but all to no purpose; the Senate would not concur. On February 25, 1847, the First General Assembly adjourned *sine die*, and legislators, lobbyists, and disappointed office-seekers departed for their homes. Thus ended the first act in the dramatic contest over the election of the first United States Senators from Iowa, and the young Commonwealth was deprived of its full share of the first fruits of statehood.

During the spring and summer of 1847 the senatorial question seems to have received little attention, but late



in the fall there was a sudden revival of interest, due to rumors that Governor Briggs intended to call a special session of the legislature. It was asserted by the Whigs that pressure from Washington had been brought to bear upon the Governor to induce him to call an extra session, in the hope that Democratic Senators would be elected who would bolster up the waning fortunes of the Polk administration.

The General Assembly convened in extra session on Monday, January 3, 1848, and the first day was consumed in effecting an organization. Whether party caucuses were held or not is not known, but Judge Thomas S. Wilson and Augustus Cæsar Dodge seem to have been the favorites among the Democrats, while the Whigs centered their efforts on defeating their opponents without strongly advocating any candidates.

All hope of the election of Senators, however, soon faded away in a bitter controversy over the right of certain Democratic members of either house, but more especially of the Senate, to retain their seats. The Whigs still had a majority in the House, and they refused to go into joint convention as long as the contested Democrats were allowed to remain. In this position the Whigs perhaps were justified for at least three of the contested members were clearly not entitled to their seats. But the Democratic Senate refused to declare the seats vacant, and so days passed and nothing was done. On the 25th of January the legislature adjourned without accomplishing the most important objects for which the extra session had been called. Partisan politics and personal jealousy had for a second time prevented the election of United States Senators.

Interest in the senatorial contest did not wholly subside during the early months of 1848, for it was realized that in December a new General Assembly would convene and in all probability the long continued dead-

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lock would be broken. At the August election the Democrats rallied to the polls in full force, and not only elected their entire State ticket but secured a substantial majority in both branches of the legislature. Many weeks before the opening of the General Assembly Democratic candidates for the senatorships traversed the State in the effort to create public sentiment and enlist the interest of legislators in their behalf. The Whigs, hopelessly in the minority, apparently took little part in the campaign. Between rival candidates in the Democratic party, however, a sharp contest was waged. Augustus Cæsar Dodge was again the favorite with the people of the southern part of the State, although he was not without some opposition. In the northern section Judge Thomas S. Wilson was once more a promising candidate, but a new star had appeared in the person of George W. Jones of Dubuque, formerly Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Wisconsin. Between these two men there began a bitter contest which not only added excitement to this particular campaign, but was continued with growing intensity throughout many subsequent years.

The legislature assembled for the second regular session on December 4, 1848. On the following evening the Democratic members of both houses, thirty-eight in all, met in caucus. On the first ballot Augustus Cæsar Dodge received every vote and was duly declared a candidate. A second and a third ballot were then taken for the remaining candidate, but without success. On the fourth ballot, however, George W. Jones was chosen by a vote of twenty-eight to ten over his nearest competitor, Thomas S. Wilson.

No faithful chronicler has made public the record of the Whig caucus, if any there was, but it is evident that the Whigs in the legislature agreed to give the empty compliment of their support to William H. Wallace and Ralph P. Lowe.

At two o'clock on the afternoon of December 7, the two houses met in the hall of the House of Representatives, where were gathered many friends of the various candidates. This time, however, there was not the breathless excitement of two years before, for the element of uncertainty was lacking. A Democratic victory could be the only possible result. When the votes were counted it was found that Augustus Cæsar Dodge and George W. Jones were each elected by a majority of nineteen votes.

Thus, after two years of unrepresented statehood, the voice of Iowa was at last to be heard in the Senate of the United States. Dodge and Jones, hastening to the National Capital with their certificates of election and credentials, were presented in the Senate on December 26, 1848, and took the seats assigned to them. The classification of the two new Senators was then determined by lot. George W. Jones drew the long term which would expire in March, 1853; while the term drawn by Augustus Cæsar Dodge was to end in March, 1849.

Whether in this long contest the Whigs or the Democrats were the most to be censured is perhaps an even question. Both parties exhibited a reprehensible readiness to sacrifice public interest at the shrine of party welfare and personal ambition. The whole episode is a typical illustration of the mad rush for office which has usually accompanied the organization of new Commonwealths. It is an indication of the loose, unorganized condition of political parties in a frontier community, and of the unscrupulous methods which even in the "good old days of our fathers" were employed to secure positions of public trust. Fortunately in this case the choice fell to men of experience and at least moderate ability, who faithfully served the interests of their State.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ATTACK ON ST. LOUIS, 1780

BY JAMES ALTON JAMES

Scarcely had the Revolution begun when Oliver Pollock, as agent of Virginia, began his zealous endeavors to secure assistance from the Spanish authorities at New Orleans for the American cause.<sup>1</sup> He was so far successful that, during the summer of 1776, he obtained ten thousand pounds of powder from Governor Unzaga, the most of which was delivered by Lieutenant William Linn at Wheeling at a time when that Post and Fort Pitt needed it greatly for protection and to further their dealings with the Indians.<sup>2</sup>

Don Bernardo De Galvez, who became Governor in January, 1777, at once tendered his services to Pollock and assured him that he would go every possible length

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<sup>1</sup> Oliver Pollock was also appointed agent of Congress early in 1778. — Copy of a letter of Oliver Pollock to the President of Congress, September 18, 1782, in Virginia State Library.

<sup>2</sup> (a) One means of gaining the friendship of the Indians was through the distribution of powder. They had been told by the British that the Colonists had none.

(b) This plan, to secure powder from New Orleans, was conceived by Captain George Gibson of the Virginia Line. It was sanctioned by the authorities of Virginia. Accompanied by Lieutenant William Linn, Captain Gibson set out for New Orleans, July 19, 1776. Arriving at New Orleans, in order to quiet the suspicions of the British Consul, Gibson was thrown into prison by order of the Spanish Governor. Oliver Pollock succeeded in getting 10,000 pounds of powder from the Spanish authorities, paying therefor \$1800. Lieutenant Linn, with 43 men, left New Orleans September 22, with a cargo of 98 kegs (9,000 pounds) of powder in barges. The expedition arrived at Wheeling the following May. Captain Gibson, after his release, returned with the remainder of the powder in packages which concealed the contents.

for the interests of Congress.<sup>3</sup> He declared that the port of New Orleans would be open and free to American commerce and to the admission and sale of prizes made by American cruisers. British vessels on the lower Mississippi were seized and confiscated upon his orders.<sup>4</sup> He refused the demand made by the Governor of Pensacola for the surrender of Pollock. A number of large boats were loaded at New Orleans for Fort Pitt. By the end of the year 1777 Galvez had aided the Americans by sending arms, ammunition, and provisions to the Mississippi posts and the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the amount of seventy thousand dollars.<sup>5</sup> No objection was offered to the equipping of an expedition at New Orleans by which Captain Willing, early in 1778, with fifty men, surprised and captured British vessels, made use of them in the American service and laid waste the possessions of British planters from Bayou Manchac to Natchez.<sup>6</sup> The people of Louisiana sympathized with this attack by which crops and stock were destroyed, houses burned and slaves carried away. British planters, themselves, took refuge on the west side of the river under protection of the Spanish flag. Early in 1778 the British flag was excluded from the Mississippi.<sup>7</sup> In fact, everything seems to have been sanctioned by the Spanish authorities short of open hostilities.

There can be no doubt that Spain was prompted to this seemingly generous conduct through the hopes of ultimate gain. Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, well understood what arguments would be most

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<sup>3</sup> Oliver Pollock to the President of Congress, September 18, 1782. It has been suggested that Galvez acted under secret instructions from Spain. See Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, p. 109. At the time, his uncle, Don Jose de Galvez, was President of the Council of the Indies.

<sup>4</sup> Between Balize and Manchac.

<sup>5</sup> Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> Letter of Oliver Pollock, September 18, 1782.

<sup>7</sup> Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, p. 117.

forceful when, in acknowledging the aid already given, he pleads with the Governor of Cuba for further assistance.\* "We are well acquainted, Sir," he wrote, "with the Honour, Spirit and Generosity of the Spanish nation, and should therefore glory in an intimate Connection with it — For I suppose, I need not inform your Excellency, that these States are now free and Independent, capable of forming Alliances and of making Treaties. I think the Connection might be mutually beneficial, for independent, of the Beef, Pork, live Stock Flour, Staves, Shingles, and several other articles with which we could supply your Islands, we have vast quantities of Skins, Furs, Hemp and Flax, which we could, by an easy inland navigation bring down the Mississippi to New Orleans from our back Country, in exchange for your Woollens, Linens, Wines, Military Stores etc., and were you once restored to the Possessions you held in the Floridas (which I sincerely wish to see, & which I make no Doubt these States would cheerfully contribute to accomplish) the advantages to us both in a Commercial View would be greatly increased. The English, indeed insinuate that it would be impolitic in your nation to assist us in our present Situation; but you are too wise not to perceive how much it is their Interest that you Should be imposed upon by this Doctrine & how much more formidable they must be to you with the Assistance of America than without it; and you must be too well acquainted with the Nature of our States to entertain any Jealousy of their becoming your Rivals in Trade, or, overstocked as they are with vast tracts of Land, that they should ever think of extending their Territory."

In like manner, as the price of assistance, he presented to the Governor at New Orleans, the advantages which would accrue to Spain through the control of the trade

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\* Letter, October 18, 1777. — Attested copy in Virginia State Library; original destroyed.

of the Southern States and the deprivation of their "ancient & natural Enemy the English of all those vast supplies of naval Stores & many other Articles which have enabled them to become so powerful on the Seas". Again in possession of Pensacola and St. Augustine they would be able, he thought, "to enjoy a great part of the Trade of our Northern States". To facilitate intercourse by the way of the Mississippi, he proposed to establish a post at the mouth of the Ohio.<sup>9</sup>

While the British authorities were partially aware of the attitude of Spain towards the colonists, they waited for some more overt act.<sup>10</sup> "Though I have no doubt this minute of the existence of a Spanish as well as a French war," Lieutenant Governor Hamilton wrote on January 24, 1779, "yet I have, as yet, no accounts by which I may venture to act on the offensive against the subjects of Spain, which I ardently desire, as there would be so little difficulty of pushing them entirely out of the Mississippi."<sup>11</sup> Three objects, among others, it was hoped to accomplish by Hamilton's expedition. These were: (1) to erect a fort at the junction of the Mississippi and the Ohio which was to constitute a "bridle" on American trade; (2) to get control of the mouth of the Missouri with the hope of underselling the Spaniards and

<sup>9</sup> Letter, October 18, 1777, attested copy.

<sup>10</sup> General Carleton, as early as October, 1776, was advised by Rochambeau of the correspondence between the Colonists and the Spanish Governor at New Orleans. Carleton urged Hamilton that care should be taken that nothing be pursued which may have a tendency to create a breach between the nations; that the Spanish side of the Mississippi must be respected upon all occasions.—*Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 344.

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, on February 13, 1779, wrote to Governor Galvez expressing a hope that the commerce in gunpowder with the rebels would be prohibited.—*Canadian Archives*, Report, 1882, p. 25. Captain Bloomer was stationed at Natchez engaged in intercepting supplies sent to the American posts from New Orleans.—*Canadian Archives*, Report, 1882, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Hamilton to Haldimand, January 24, 1779.

thus gain the favor of the Indians of that region;<sup>12</sup> and (3) by dislodging the "rebels" from the Illinois to regain the Mississippi trade which otherwise, as an English official expressed it, would be completely "knocked up";<sup>13</sup> and at the same time contribute to the security of the Floridas.<sup>14</sup>

For Spain, the prize ultimately sought was not the trade of the Mississippi alone, so generously proffered by Governor Henry, but the possession of the entire valley. This object in view, a treaty between France and Spain was agreed upon in April, 1779. The formal declaration of war against Great Britain quickly followed; and in July of that year Governor Galvez was authorized to attack Natchez and other British posts on the east bank of the Mississippi.<sup>15</sup>

On June 17, the day following the declaration of war by Spain, Lord George Germain directed General Haldimand to order hostilities to begin immediately with an attack on New Orleans and other Spanish posts on the river.<sup>16</sup> General Campbell was ordered to proceed up the Mississippi to Natchez with an army and fleet. He was there to be joined by a force from the north, St. Louis having been captured *en route*.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of an adverse decision by his council, Governor Galvez determined, on his own authority, to attack at once the British Posts.<sup>18</sup> He marshalled a force of 1430 men, made up of regular troops, militia, and volunteers

<sup>12</sup> *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 477, 478.

<sup>13</sup> De Peyster to Haldimand, September 21, 1778. — *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 371.

<sup>14</sup> Haldimand to Clinton, November 10, 1778. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 58, J, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, p. 121.

<sup>16</sup> *Canadian Archives*, 1885, p. 276.

<sup>17</sup> Sinclair to Brehm, February 15, 1780. — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 145, 147.

<sup>18</sup> Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, p. 122. The council recommended preparation for defense only.



— among the last being Oliver Pollock and nine other Americans. Although poorly equipped for offensive operations, Galvez led his force against Ft. Manchac and captured it on September 8th. Baton Rouge, a strongly fortified post, was the next object of attack. By clever strategy the Spaniards gained an advantage which led to a capitulation, September 21st. Not only did they gain possession of this post with its five hundred defenders and thirteen pieces of heavy artillery, but the terms of surrender also included Natchez, one hundred and thirty miles up the river.<sup>19</sup> Galvez, returning to New Orleans, made active preparations for an expedition against Mobile. Because of his successes no difficulties were encountered in securing a force of two thousand men, with which he set sail early in February, 1780.<sup>20</sup> Mobile was surrendered without the necessity of an assault. During the progress of these events, General Campbell with his fifteen hundred regular troops remained at Pensacola, making little effort to carry out the orders of his government. Galvez made every preparation during the remainder of the year to go against this strongly fortified and well garrisoned post. Under very adverse circumstances, he succeeded through a combined attack of naval and land forces in accomplishing his purpose on May 9, 1781.<sup>21</sup> With Pensacola the province of West Florida, also, became a Spanish possession.

Meantime, the British authorities at Mackinac and Detroit lost no time in carrying out their orders. A war party of Indians was dispatched by Lieutenant Governor Sinclair of Mackinac to enlist the services of Wabasha, the illustrious Chief of the Sioux, who was attached to the British interests and could at the time muster two

<sup>19</sup> Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, pp. 127-130.

<sup>20</sup> Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, p. 135.

<sup>21</sup> Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, pp. 135-147.

hundred warriors from his tribe.<sup>22</sup> Wabasha was to proceed with all dispatch as far down as Natchez, there to join General Campbell, having made as many intermediate attacks as possible.<sup>23</sup>

Sinclair entrusted the command of an expedition against the Spanish and Illinois country — the conquest of which would be an easy task as he believed — to a trader, Emanuel Hesse.<sup>24</sup> On February 15, 1780, Captain Hesse was ordered to assemble for that purpose, at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, the Menominee, Sacs, Foxes, and Puants. Accompanied by these Indians, and with a plentiful stock of provisions, Hesse descended the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, where he was joined by Matchikuis and his Ottawa braves.<sup>25</sup> To this chieftain, flattered with the title of general and the privilege of wearing the scarlet coat and epaulettes of the British, was given the chief command of the Indians.<sup>26</sup>

On May 2d the entire force consisting of some nine hundred and fifty traders, servants, and Indians, set out on their five hundred mile voyage for the attack on the Spanish and Illinois country.<sup>27</sup> While awaiting the In-

<sup>22</sup> The Sioux were selected for they were, as stated by Sinclair, "undebaunched, addicted to war, and jealously attached to His Majesty's interest". — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 147.

It is evident, then, according to Sinclair, that the surrender of Hamilton was having a telling effect on Indian constancy. He wrote, February 15, 1780, as follows: "Lieut. Gov. Hamilton's disaster has nothing in it to make the Scioux and other nations far to the westward, even to recollect the circumstance, many of them never heard of it." — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 144.

<sup>23</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 146-148.

<sup>24</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 151.

<sup>25</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 232, 234.

<sup>26</sup> Matchikuis, it was, who in 1763 surprised Mackinac. Under pretence of playing, he kicked the ball over the fort pickets, rushed in with his hand, with arms concealed, and accomplished his purpose. — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. III, p. 224. Wabasha also had the title of general.

<sup>27</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 151. The number is based on the statement of Governor Sinclair that there were 750. With the

dian detachments at Prairie du Chien, an armed boat from St. Louis with thirteen men was taken. An expedition dispatched to the lead mines succeeded in capturing seventeen prisoners and large quantities of supplies, and prevented the shipment of fifty tons of lead ore.<sup>28</sup> Various motives were adduced to stir up enthusiasm for the expedition. The northern Indians were incited through the opportunity thus offered to fall on their hereditary foes, the Illinois tribes.<sup>29</sup> Traders who should aid in securing the Spanish posts were to be given the exclusive right to the Missouri trade for the ensuing winter.<sup>30</sup>

Three other simultaneous movements were projected, all of them planned with the view of contributing to the success of the one under Captain Hesse. Captain Langlade, with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians, was directed to proceed from "Chicago and to make his attack by the Illinois river".<sup>31</sup> Another party was ordered to "watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi". The third and most formidable was that sent by Major De Peyster, Governor at Detroit, under Captain Henry Bird, to "amuse" Clark at the Falls of the Ohio.<sup>32</sup>

St. Louis, at the time, was a town of one hundred and twenty houses, chiefly of stone, and contained a population of about eight hundred, the majority of whom were French.<sup>33</sup> It was the capital of Upper Louisiana

200 Sioux already mentioned, the entire force was probably about 950. The Spaniards estimated 300 regular troops and 900 savages. — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 406, 407. The force has been made, also, to consist of 1500. Reported conversation between Benjamin Drake and William Clark. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 34, J, 35.

<sup>28</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 151.

<sup>29</sup> Sinclair to Haldimand. — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 151; Vol. III, pp. 150, 154, 157.

<sup>30</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 152.

<sup>31</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 151.

<sup>32</sup> *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. X, p. 395.

<sup>33</sup> The name by which St. Louis had been known among the inhabitants

and was in a flourishing condition, due to the fact that it was a leading center for the fur-trade. A number of villages on the Missouri and the Mississippi — such as Carondelet, St. Charles, and St. Ferdinand — had been settled from this center. The Spanish garrison consisted of fifty men under the command of Captain Don Fernando De Leyba.<sup>24</sup>

The Americans at the beginning of the war were scarcely aware of the existence of such a village. They were ignorant of its location, as is manifest from the following incident. Col. George Morgan, Indian Agent at Pittsburg, in a letter of inquiry to Governor Henry early in the year 1777, says: "The County Lieutenant, who is ordered to send 100 men to meet Capt. Lynn with the powder is at a loss to know how far to proceed or where St. Louis on the Mississippi is — There being one place of that name 160 miles above the mouth of Ohio — and no settlement or fort less than 400 miles below the Ohio — the nearest is at the River Arkansa."<sup>25</sup> In the absence of the Governor, John Page, the Acting Governor answered with splendid official agreeableness: "We are at a loss to know where St. Louis is, as much as you can be, but suppose it to be where you mention."<sup>26</sup>

St. Louis was really discovered to the Americans by

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for many years was "Pancore" (abbreviated from Pain Court, meaning without bread). — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 8, J, 55.

<sup>24</sup> *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup> Morgan Letter Book, Vol. I. Upon the return of Captain Gibson to Virginia orders were issued that assistance should be sent to Lieutenant Linn. Linn did not meet this company, however, and succeeded in the enterprise as before indicated. For the orders, see Thwaites and Kellogg's *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, pp. 226-229.

<sup>26</sup> April 15, 1777. — Thwaites and Kellogg's *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, p. 248.

Lieutenant Linn was well received by the Spanish Commandant on the Arkansas. Leaving that Post, he sent an express to St. Louis soliciting aid. He then hastened to pass the mouth of the Ohio before the time indicated and learned afterwards that he barely escaped capture by Indians, sent probably by the Spanish authorities at St. Louis.

George Rogers Clark. Relations between Colonel Clark and Governor De Leyba were begun directly after the capture of Kaskaskia, and became constantly more intimate through correspondence, through the influence of Colonel Vigo — trusted associate of Clark and friend and business partner of De Leyba — and through the visits by Clark to the home of the latter in St. Louis. "This gentleman", Clark wrote Patrick Henry, September 16, 1778, "interests himself much in favor of the States, more so than I could have expected. He has offered me all the force that he could raise in case of an attack by Indians from Detroit, as there is now no danger from any other quarter." Governor Henry hastened to reciprocate this proffer of assistance. Colonel John Todd was instructed to tender friendship and services to the Spanish commandant and cultivate the strictest connection with his people. Colonel Todd was intrusted with a letter from Governor Henry to Governor De Leyba, which he was to "deliver in person". It is not improbable, therefore, that Colonel Clark, who had intelligence early in 1780 of a projected attack on the Illinois country,<sup>27</sup> should have given timely warning to the Spanish commandant.<sup>28</sup> St. Louis was in no condition to offer defense when, at the close of March, it was learned from a trader that a large body of the enemy was descending the Mississippi for an attack.<sup>29</sup> Intrenchments were immediately thrown up, which, during the attack, were

<sup>27</sup> Old inhabitants always spoke of "the Illinois" as including the settlements about St. Louis and those of Illinois, but it did not include Vincennes. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 7, J, 55.

<sup>28</sup> Pierre Prevost, a Kaskaskian, who was engaged in the Indian trade on the upper Mississippi, wrote Clark, February 20, 1780, of the efforts which were being made from Mackinac to stir up the Sacs, Foxes and Sioux to make an attack on the "People of the Illinois". — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 404, 405.

Governor Leyba is said to have given no credence to the warning, politely declined all aid, and affirmed that the Indians were peaceable.

<sup>29</sup> *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 45.

manned by a force consisting of twenty-nine regulars and two hundred and eighty-one villagers; orders were sent to the surrounding posts to send assistance; <sup>40</sup> a platform was erected at one end of the town upon which were placed five cannon; scouts were sent out; and cavalrymen were stationed to act as a picket guard.

"The enemy arrived", as indicated by the Spanish account, <sup>41</sup> "May twenty-sixth at one o'clock in the afternoon, and began the attack upon the post from the north side, expecting to meet no opposition; but they found themselves unexpectedly repulsed by the militia which guarded it. A vigorous fire was kept up on both sides, so that by the service done by the cannon on the tower where the aforesaid commander (Captain De Leyba) was, the defenders at least succeeded in keeping off a band of villians who, if they had not opportunely been met by this bold opposition on our part would not have left a trace of our settlements. There were also to be heard the confusion and the lamentable cries of the women and children who had been shut up in the house of the commandant, defended by twenty men under the lieutenant of infantry, Don Francisco Cartabona; the dolorous-echoes of which seemed to inspire in the besieged an extraordinary valor and spirit, for they urgently demanded to be permitted to make a sally. The enemy, at last, seeing that their force was useless against such resistance, scattered about over the country, where they found several farmers who, with their slaves, were occupied in the labors of the field. If these hungry wolves had contented themselves with destroying the crops, if they had killed all the cattle which they could not take with them, this act would have been looked upon as a consequence of war, but when the learned world shall know that this desperate

<sup>40</sup> Lieutenant de Cartabona hastened from Sta. Genevieve with the local militia under Charles Vallé and rendered signal service.

<sup>41</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 407, 408.

band slaked their thirst in the blood of innocent victims and sacrificed to their fury all whom they found, cruelly destroying them and committing the greatest atrocities upon some poor people who had no other arms than those of the good faith in which they lived, the English nation from now on may add to its glorious conquests in the present war that of having barbarously inflicted by the hands of the base instruments of cruelty the most bitter torments which tyranny has invented." So the Spanish account ends after reciting that the number of the killed and wounded was twenty-nine, and that twenty-four were made prisoners.<sup>42</sup>

In general, this narration of the Spanish zeal and courage satisfies the facts relating to the first repulse. No doubt, also, evidence existed for the declaration made by Lieutenant Governor Sinclair, that the defeat was owing (1) to the treachery of Calvé, an interpreter, and Ducharme, a trader who commanded companies of the Indians; (2) to the want of secrecy whereby the Spaniards had received timely notice of the projected attack; or (3) to the backwardness of the Canadians.<sup>43</sup> But in addition to these three there was another, and it must be believed, more potent cause for the precipitate retreat which followed and the total defeat of the ultimate objects hoped for by the British officials. That was the opportune appearance of George Rogers Clark, who was supposed to be beyond striking distance at the Falls of the Ohio.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Forty-six others were made prisoners on the Mississippi, according to the same account. According to a British report seventy persons were killed, thirty-four taken prisoners, and forty-three scalped.—See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 156.

Another report by Sinclair shows sixty-eight killed at St. Louis and eighteen made prisoners.—*Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 559.

<sup>43</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 154.

<sup>44</sup> It was known in Detroit, by May 17, that Clark had gone to the mouth of the Ohio. Doubtless this was one reason for pushing forward Bird's expedition.—*Canadian Archives*, 1882, p. 35.

While the foregoing events were occurring, Clark, following the directions of Governor Jefferson, had been engaged since April 19th in constructing a fort at the "Iron Banks", five miles below the mouth of the Ohio.<sup>45</sup> There it was determined to concentrate all of the troops with the exception of a small number which might be necessary for the defense of the Illinois posts and to "sustain the spirits of the inhabitants".<sup>46</sup> While the location of this new fort was regarded as a necessary measure for the protection of the trade with New Orleans, the withdrawal of the troops was, at the time, even more obligatory. Paper money was no longer current in the Illinois country and hard money could not be secured. Bad crops and the severity of the preceding winter made it impossible to get supplies from the inhabitants until the next harvest. Besides, the French, whose stock of provisions was depleted, chafed under the exactions of military officials. "It gives me great uneasiness", said the Commissary General at Kaskaskia,<sup>47</sup> "to find the inhabitants put so little faith in Government that they even refuse the few soldiers who are here the necessary supplies of life, but I beg of you with advise of the court to furnish them with provisions from day to day, otherwise you may rely on their taking it wheresoever they find it without the least respect to the owners and in my opinion will be justified in so doing as it is unreasonable for any people to expect protection when they refuse supports of nature to the Soldiery. What provisions are furnished I will settle with you for and am certain you will be paid to your satisfaction."

<sup>45</sup> Clark was at the Falls of the Ohio in March. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 7. Jefferson's orders were for a fort near the mouth of the Ohio.

<sup>46</sup> Letter of Jefferson to John Todd, January 29, 1780. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 5.

<sup>47</sup> William Shannon to M. Cerré, Judge of the Court, May 28, 1780. — Shannon's *Orderly Book*, in Virginia State Library.



The troops from Vincennes were already withdrawn,<sup>48</sup> but fortunately the evacuation of Kaskaskia had not taken place when it was learned that an attack was imminent. Citizens of Cahokia, through Charles Gratiot, informed Clark of the alarming situation and urged him to return at once to their relief. "We are on the eve of being attacked", they said, "by considerable parties of savages and cannot work at the cultivation of our grounds if we have not prompt succor. For this reason we take the liberty of addressing you, having confidence in the kindness and affection you have always manifested for us."<sup>49</sup> With a small body of troops, Clark set out May 13th,<sup>50</sup> receiving at the mouth of the Ohio other expresses from De Leyba and Colonel Montgomery,<sup>51</sup> also urging his immediate presence. Twenty-four hours after his arrival at Cahokia the attack was begun,<sup>52</sup> a short time after that at St. Louis. After a short skirmish the British withdrew.

The statement has often been made and as frequently denied that Clark before the attack on Cahokia crossed the river to St. Louis, and that it was his influence which caused the retreat of the British.<sup>53</sup> He claimed for him-

<sup>48</sup> *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 358. The defense was intrusted to the militia.

<sup>49</sup> *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 27.

<sup>50</sup> *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 26, J, 14.

<sup>51</sup> *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 97.

<sup>52</sup> Montgomery, probably at Kaskaskia, met with Clark for the defense of Cahokia. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 28, J, 33.

<sup>53</sup> "When Gen. Clark arrived at Coho he was informed that the number of men at St. Louis collected at Kaskaskia and other places was between 300 and 400. He went over to St. Louis to review the troops as well as the works of defence. The Spanish commandant at St. Louis, on the arrival of Clark, offered him the command of both sides; but Clark declined taking the command until he could ascertain where the assault would be made. He continued only about two hours in St. Louis when he returned to Coho." — *Bradford's Notes on Kentucky*, pp. 54-56. This writer prepared his sketches from notes given by General Clark and other pioneers.

Colonel Montgomery, February 22, 1783, said that Clark would have

self and his men the honor of having saved St. Louis and the rest of Louisiana for the Spaniards.<sup>54</sup> It may well be believed that the knowledge that he was in the vicinity caused the Indians to withdraw.

The main body of the attacking force retreated rapidly in two divisions — one by the Mississippi, the other directly across the country to Mackinac.<sup>55</sup> Langlade and his force escaped in two vessels and in canoes, thus preventing an attack on them by a force of two hundred Illinois cavalry which arrived at "Chicago" five days after his departure. Clark at once organized a force of some three hundred and fifty men — regulars, French volunteers from the Illinois posts, and Spaniards of St. Louis—which he sent under Colonel Montgomery against the Sauks and Foxes.<sup>56</sup> Proceeding up the Mississippi and the Illinois in boats as far as Peoria, they marched to the Indian villages on the Rock River. But the Indians had fled.<sup>57</sup> After burning the towns, Montgomery re-

given the Spaniards assistance had not the strong winds prevented the signals from being heard. — *Virginia Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. III, p. 443.

Henry M. Brackenridge visited St. Louis in 1811 and had a good opportunity to learn of events which happened in 1780. He wrote: "In 1779, [1780] a combination of the Indian tribes prompted by the English, attempted a general invasion of the French villages on both sides of the river and accordingly descended in considerable force but were checked by General Clark, who commanded the American troops on the other side. An attack was, however, made upon a small settlement commenced within a few miles of the town, and the inhabitants were nearly all butchered; others who happened to be out of St. Louis were killed or pursued within a short distance of the town. It is said that upwards of eighty persons fell victims to their fury." — Brackenridge's *View of Louisiana*, pp. 122, 123.

<sup>54</sup> Letter to Genet, February 5, 1793. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 55, J, 1.

<sup>55</sup> Sinclair to Haldimand, July 8. — *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. II, No. 6, pp. 48, 49.

<sup>56</sup> *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 97.

<sup>57</sup> The failure of the expedition was attributed by the French to "the lack of management and bad conduct of the Virginians". They were

turned to his boats. The retreat of four hundred miles was accomplished after much suffering due to the almost total lack of provisions.<sup>58</sup>

Clark, himself, receiving intelligence of the British designs under Captain Bird, showed that promptness and energy so characteristic of him at the time. On June 5th, with a few men, he set out from Kaskaskia by boat for Fort Jefferson, barely escaping capture on the way.<sup>59</sup> Unmindful of the dangers, he struck off, with two companions,<sup>60</sup> through the wilderness for Harrodsburg. In order to deceive the lurking bands of savages, they disguised themselves as Indians. On approaching the Tennessee River, they were discovered by some Indians, and narrowly escaped capture. They crossed the Tennessee and the Kentucky rivers on rafts which they made by binding logs together with grapevines. Harrodsburg was reached a short time before the news that Ruddle's and Martin's stations were captured by the British.

While it is not the plan, in this paper, to consider the expedition from Detroit led by Captain Bird, the main features need to be recalled. During the winter and spring of 1780 Major De Peyster, then in command at Detroit, lavished vast treasure upon the assembled tribes in order to satisfy their ever growing demands and prepare them to assist in carrying out one part of the comprehensive plan for the conquest of the whole West.<sup>61</sup> It was hoped to dislodge the Americans at the Falls of the

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not in sympathy with the Americans at the time. — *Petition of Cahokiana, Illinois Historical Society Collections*, Vol. II, p. 54.

<sup>58</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 291, 292. They were forced to subsist on dead horses a portion of the time.

<sup>59</sup> By Indians at the Island above the fort. He found that three men had been murdered near the fort and that two more were missing. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 26, J, 14.

<sup>60</sup> Major Josiah Harlan and Captain Herman Consola.

<sup>61</sup> General Haldimand wrote of the "amazing" sum of 64,035 pounds expended in the over-indulgence of the Indians. — *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. X, p. 409.

Ohio; and thus, by cutting the communication between Fort Pitt and the West, force the surrender of the Illinois posts.<sup>62</sup> Besides, immigrants were pouring into Kentucky in such numbers as to excite the apprehensions of the British officials. Major De Peyster wrote, May 17, 1780: "The Delawares and Shawanese are daily bringing in scalps and prisoners,<sup>63</sup> those unhappy people being part of the one thousand families who, to shun the oppression of Congress are on their way to possess the country of Kentuck where if they are allowed quietly to settle, they will become formidable both to the Indians and to the Posts."<sup>64</sup> So terrible was the havoc wrought by these scouting parties upon the defenceless families scattered through the woods of Kentucky that petitions from various communities were sent to Clark asking that he come to the rescue lest the whole country should become a "mere scene of carnage and Desolation". "If you could Assist us in that peticular", they say, and, "Honour our interprize with your Presence and Command you would have the Consolation of redeeming from Destruction a Scattered divided and Defenceless people who have no other probable source of defence but through your means."<sup>65</sup>

Captain Bird, accompanied by one hundred and fifty Whites and one thousand Indians well armed, and with two pieces of light artillery, set out from Detroit early in

<sup>62</sup> *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 634.

<sup>63</sup> *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. X, pp. 396, 409.

<sup>64</sup> *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. X, p. 396.

De Peyster was commended for his foresight by General Haldimand. — *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 635.

Not less than three hundred family boats, with emigrants, reached the Falls of the Ohio during 1780. — *Butterfield's Life of Girty*, p. 117.

<sup>65</sup> Petition from the inhabitants of Boonesborough, March 10, 1780. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 19.

A similar petition from Bryan's Station, March 13, 1780. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 20.

May.<sup>66</sup> His route was by way of the Maumee and the Miami rivers to the Ohio. His plan to attack the Americans at the Falls was suddenly changed, due in all probability to the fact that he learned that Colonel Slaughter had arrived from Virginia with reënforcements,<sup>67</sup> and he knew also that the expedition against the Illinois had failed. Besides, he feared the return of Clark.<sup>68</sup> Proceeding up the Licking, they fell on Buddle's and Martin's stations, two small stockaded posts. Resistance was hopeless against the British cannon.<sup>69</sup> Bird, with no control over his blood-thirsty savages, was unable to carry out the terms of the capitulation. Satisfied with his slight success, he set out for Detroit with about one hundred prisoners laden with plunder, over the route by which he came.<sup>70</sup> Many of the women and children, unable to bear the strain of the march, were relieved from their sufferings by the tomahawk. The cannon and shells were left at one of the Miami towns and were shortly afterwards buried<sup>71</sup> in order that they might not fall into the hands of Clark, who at once organized a retaliatory expedition.

<sup>66</sup> De Peyster to Sinclair, May 18, 1780. — *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 582.

<sup>67</sup> Major Slaughter, with one hundred men, was ordered to the Falls of the Ohio. — Letter from Jefferson to Clark, January 29, 1780, *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 7.

<sup>68</sup> *State Department Manuscripts*. Testimony by Knox and H. Marshall before the Board of Commissioners, December 7, 1787. Their information was obtained from Clark and they were themselves in Kentucky at the time of the attack.

<sup>69</sup> Bird's force of Indians was then reduced to eight hundred. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 29, J, 25.

Large numbers deserted him because of the report circulated by a Canadian trader that four thousand French, well armed, were intrenched at Post Vincennes. De Peyster to Haldimand, May 17, 1780. — *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. X, p. 395.

<sup>70</sup> Butler's *History of Kentucky*, p. 112; Memorandum Book of Captain John Dunkin captured at Buddle's Station. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 29, J, 25.

<sup>71</sup> *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. X, p. 418.

In conclusion, then, we may assert that the attack on St. Louis was but one phase of a comprehensive plan, on the part of the British authorities, for the conquest of the West. It was the only one projected during the entire war which promised to succeed, and its failure was chiefly due to the influence of George Rogers Clark.

## DID CORONADO REACH THE MISSOURI RIVER OR ENTER THE STATE OF MISSOURI?

BY JAMES NEWTON BASKETT

[Mr. Baskett did not read a paper, but discussed the subject informally.]

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## THE WESTERN SANITARY COMMISSION

BY ROLAND G. USHER

Probably the name Western Sanitary Commission connotes little more to most students of the Civil War than the fact, so naturally inferred from the name itself, that it was a western philanthropic society engaged on a small scale in that humane work for which the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission were so noted. If, however, finding his curiosity somewhat aroused, the student turns to the pages of Mr. Rhodes's great history, he finds no mention whatever of this Commission and in consequence assumes that it was not of sufficient importance to be mentioned in comparison with the United States Sanitary Commission. In Mr. Hosmer's volume, the *Outcome of the Civil War* in the *American Nation Series*, he will find two lines which will tell him exactly what he already knows — that the Western Sanitary Commission existed. A search in Mr. Carr's *History of Missouri* is rewarded by a casual reference or two; but the student is still no wiser than before and very likely at this point will cease to wonder what an institution could have been which had not succeeded in leaving a trace in history as recorded by the scholars of its own and the succeeding generation.

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But suppose he happens, by accident, upon the article upon sanitary work during the War in the *North American Review* for January, 1864, he will expect to be at last rewarded with some statement which will show him the relative importance of this obscure Commission. In one way and another he has begun to associate it with Missouri and with St. Louis, but now he finds to his astonishment, that an article upon the benevolent associations of the country, published during the War in a leading review by a writer apparently well informed, not only does not mention the Western Sanitary Commission, but actually states that Missouri is "out of the sanitary circle." It seems then to be true that no historian has considered it worth while to mention this Commission and its work. In fact, the student will delve deep in official reports and in letters and memoirs before he will be able to put together a connected account of an institution which was in fact one of the most powerful and best organized benevolent associations ever known in America. Prejudice and jealousy<sup>1</sup> in its own generation and ignorance in the succeeding have conspired to rob it of its true historical position.

In reality the Western Sanitary Commission, founded in St. Louis in 1861 to cope with a purely local situation, bade fair within two years to outstrip the United States Sanitary Commission both in importance and in efficiency. Originally intended to mitigate the unnecessary suffering of the men wounded at the battle of Wilson's Creek and to provide adequate hospital accommodations in the city of St. Louis for such wounded men as might be brought there, the Commission was eventually administering to

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<sup>1</sup> Besides the jealousy which the regular army surgeons constantly displayed towards all the sanitary commissions, the Western Sanitary Commission was much hampered by the attitude of the other commissions towards it and by their persistent attempts at Washington to deprive it of its privileges, which were never larger and frequently not as great as their own.



the wants of all the Union armies west of the Alleghanies. The Rev. W. G. Eliot, a member of the Commission, wrote on August 21, 1863, to friends in Boston: "We have the whole army west of the Mississippi to see to, and a large part of General Grant's, and the gunboats."<sup>2</sup>

In May, 1863, (to select one example of many) Mr. Yeatman, the president of the Commission, arrived at Vicksburg with a corps of surgeons, nurses, and dressers, numbering fifty-five in all, with two hundred and fifty tons of sanitary supplies, besides sufficient cots, mattresses, and other articles needed to care for one thousand men. "By the time we arrived at Vicksburg", he wrote, "all sanitary stores [there] had become completely exhausted, and the new supplies in my charge were greatly needed."<sup>3</sup> In the single month of June, 1863, the Western Sanitary Commission sent and distributed among the wounded of Grant's army in the Vicksburg trenches 114,697 articles. The list included 3,000 hospital shirts,

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<sup>2</sup> *The Western Sanitary Commission, a Sketch of its Origin, History, Labors for the Sick and Wounded of the Western Armies, and Aid given to Freedmen and Union Refugees, with Incidents of Hospital Life*, St. Louis, 1864, (pp. 144, and index), p. 95. Published anonymously, there is little doubt that the tract is the work of Rev. J. G. Forman, who early in the War was Chaplain of the 3rd Missouri Volunteers, then became one of the Commission's field agents, and was in 1864 its secretary. For internal evidence see pp. 112, 113. He was able to speak from actual experience and had of course access to all the Commission's records and to the private correspondence of its members. The pamphlet was written to advertise the Commission and is naturally very favorable to it; it was also a hasty piece of work (see pp. 137, 138); but it contains information which is invaluable. Printed material on the Commission's history is very scarce and consists chiefly of its own reports and of the reports of charitable organizations which were at one time and another in contact with it. Probably the best collection of this material is in the Washington University Library, St. Louis. By far the best account of the Commission now accessible in print is in Mrs. Charlotte C. Eliot's admirable *Life of William Greenleaf Eliot*, Boston, 1904, pp. 212-288. Galusha Anderson's *A Border City during the Civil War* contains (pp. 288-315) a brief and rambling account drawn in the main from Forman and Mrs. Eliot.

<sup>3</sup> Forman's *Western Sanitary Commission*, p. 77.

3,000 drawers, and blankets, bandages, lint, eye-shades, crutches, air beds, oiled silk pads, with stimulants and delicacies in endless array. And this, it should be remembered, was the contribution for one month only and does not count the two hundred and fifty tons brought by Mr. Yeatman in May. The capture of Vicksburg threw upon the sanitary commissions the added burden of thirty thousand prisoners, most of whom were sick and exhausted by starvation, many of whom were wounded, and all of whom were in dire need of the clean clothing, stimulants, and medicines which only the sanitary commissions could supply.

When Grant and Sherman moved to Chattanooga the agents of the Commission went with the army and distributed enormous quantities of goods. Nearly half a million articles, amounting to several hundred tons at a reasonable computation, were sent to Sherman's army in Georgia between May 1 and November 1, 1864.<sup>4</sup> A large amount of supplies was actually forwarded to Sherman marked "For the Andersonville Prisoners"; but the general was unable to deliver them. Besides these more than considerable services rendered from 1861 to 1865 to the large armies in the West, to whose needs the Western Sanitary Commission was usually the largest though by no means the only contributor,<sup>5</sup> the Commission was practically the only source of sanitary supplies for the smaller armies operating in Missouri, Arkansas, and the border States.<sup>6</sup> While, therefore, the

<sup>4</sup> Eliot's *Life of William Greenleaf Eliot*, p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> The United States Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission sent considerable amounts to the West; and the State and local sanitary organizations sent much to the front themselves, though usually they acted through the Western Sanitary Commission.

<sup>6</sup> Surgeon S. C. Harington of the 1st Kansas Colored Infantry, wrote to the Commission: "The goods were exceedingly opportune, as there was a great destitution of such things here. Were it not for your Commission, the army must suffer greatly for want of things it most needs." — Forman's *Western Sanitary Commission*, p. 94.

Commission was a St. Louis institution, officered by St. Louis men, its work was by no means local and deserves as much recognition as that of the United States Sanitary Commission and United States Christian Commission.

The total value of the supplies distributed by the United States Sanitary Commission was greater than the amount expended by its western cousin;<sup>7</sup> but the greater area available for its collections and contributions and the inclusion within its organization of several quasi-independent commissions, like the Northwestern Sanitary Commission (which enabled it to obtain the credit for work not strictly its own), should be borne in mind when comparing the work of the West with that of the East.

The variety of the Commission's activities is surprising to any one not familiar with the possible demands upon benevolence in time of war. To most people a sanitary commission connotes hospitals, nursing the wounded, and perhaps field work such as the Red Cross now performs. It was in fact hospital work which Mr. Eliot and Mr. Yeatman had chiefly in mind when they founded the Commission; but they speedily saw that the wounded man was by no means the only one with claims upon them. The experience of the English army in the Crimea had shown that death in armies is more often the result of sickness than of wounds received in battle. Dysentery, malaria, and scurvy, due in the main to the lack of vegetable food and a varied diet, to exposure, and to the bad drainage of most camps, regularly carried off during the Civil War, as in the Crimean, more men than did pitched battles. In fact, the real strength of an army depends more upon the care taken of the sick than of the wounded. Again, the wounded man lying on the ground after the battle parched with thirst is in immediate need of attention; but his pressing wants are soon attended to, and

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<sup>7</sup> See the tables in the rare tract, *The Philanthropic Results of the War in America, by an American Citizen*. New York, 1863, p. 32.

then the operation must be followed by weeks of convalescence. He must be conveyed to some hospital and cared for; he must be helped on his way home when discharged from "sick bay"; if he dies, he must be buried.

Hence, besides field work carried on by surgeons and nurses with a "flying hospital" equipment, the Commission provided floating hospitals on the rivers to carry the wounded to St. Louis where twelve hospitals with about eight thousand beds were waiting. The Commission owned thirteen floating hospitals, each accommodating from five hundred to one thousand patients. As the officers seemed to deserve especial care, an officers' hospital was opened at Memphis, Tennessee. Soldiers' Homes to care for the furloughed or discharged soldiers, both weak and strong, were established at St. Louis; Memphis, Tennessee; Vicksburg, Mississippi; Helena, Arkansas; and Columbus, Kentucky. The soldier with no money to pay for a lodging; the soldier cured, but too weak to get home without weeks of further rest; the Confederate exchanged and going south; the Federal discharged and going north; the freedman just mustered in and on his way to the front — all these were welcome to come with friends and relatives to any of the homes of the Commission and to stay without money and without price as long as they liked.\*

It was often exceedingly difficult for the men when discharged to secure their papers of honorable dismissal and the papers necessary to draw their pay. The official red tape was incomprehensible to most private soldiers, who only became more confused and irritated the longer they had to wait. Some men, well enough to travel but

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\* Up to the summer of 1864, these homes had entertained 152,000 soldier guests, and furnished 327,786 meals. — Forman's *Western Sanitary Commission*, p. 86.

For cases of the great good accomplished by such homes, see extracts from the reports of C. T. Chase, Illinois State Agent at Cairo, in *Transactions of the Illinois State Sanitary Bureau*, 1864, p. 92.

sure to die within a few weeks, were anxious to spend their last hours at home but waited for permission to go until death took them.<sup>9</sup> Papers of leave of absence, or of discharge were sometimes returned by the official routine after the man was dead, buried, and forgotten. The Commission undertook to assist any soldier to procure his papers and pay without unnecessary delay, and to obtain for him such tickets and directions as he might need to get home. Another great difficulty frequently met during the War was the lack of care and system in most hospitals in regard to the registration of the sick and dead. A man fell on the field; he was picked up and taken to some field hospital and then sent perhaps hundreds of miles from the battle field; he was reported missing at roll-call; and neither his regiment nor his friends knew where he was. Many men were thus "lost" and sleep in unmarked graves.

The Western Sanitary Commission paid particular attention to the registration of the sick, wounded, and dead in its hospitals, and forwarded daily reports to the regiments in the field concerning the dead then in its hands. The preparation of the bodies for shipment to the friends of the deceased and the burial of the bodies unclaimed were important and onerous tasks. Where the body had to travel some distance, especially during the summer months, the accumulated gases generated by decomposition were likely to burst asunder any coffin that was not carefully constructed. Iron coffins and a special

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<sup>9</sup> "You will have noticed . . . the names of a large number of our Illinois soldiers in hospitals, who cannot receive their pay, because they have been unable to obtain their descriptive rolls. This is a grievance which calls loudly for redress. . . . It is a sin which lies at the tent doors of certain officers. . . . I have met with several permanently disabled men, who had long been praying to be discharged, who assured me that they were really ashamed to be seen loafing about the hospital, at the Government expense, when they could no longer be of service to it." — *Transactions of the Illinois State Sanitary Bureau*, 1864, pp. 16, 17, 18, and 89.

patented device for deodorizing the gases were much used by the Commission for this purpose.<sup>10</sup>

The soldier in the field, while not hedged round with such elaborate provisions for his wellbeing and comfort, and while not fed with the delicacies intended for the sick, as was charged by the press,<sup>11</sup> was an object of solicitude. Believing that the greatest enemy of the soldier was his own ignorance, a *Treatise on the Preservation of the Health of the Soldier* was prepared and distributed gratuitously and certainly contributed its mite towards redeeming the general health of the army. Generals Grant and Sherman, however, by their orders and by their personal inspection and instruction accomplished more than hundreds of manuals in the hands of men who were at the best ill-prepared to put their directions into practice.

The Western Sanitary Commission also turned its attention to the conditions of the military hospitals and prisons in St. Louis; and after experiencing a good deal of opposition on the part of the authorities, succeeded in introducing into the prison wards substantially their own regulations. They also spent much care and time in alleviating the distress of the Confederates imprisoned at Alton, Illinois.<sup>12</sup> Mr. Yeatman always insisted that the Confederate soldiers and wounded should always be treated exactly as were the Union troops.

Some idea of the methods of the Commission and the need for its services is gained from the story of relief given the wounded after the battle of Pea Ridge.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Forman's *Western Sanitary Commission*, pp. 51, 52; Eliot's *Life of William Greenleaf Eliot*, p. 219.

<sup>11</sup> See in particular the refutation of these charges, as in the main groundless, by Mrs. Wittenmyer, the Iowa State Agent, in her *Report*, 1864, pp. 7-9; *Illinois State Sanitary Bureau Report*, 1864; Forman's *Western Sanitary Commission*, pp. 100-104.

<sup>12</sup> Forman's *Western Sanitary Commission*, p. 88.

<sup>13</sup> See Forman's *Western Sanitary Commission*, p. 28, where are given long extracts from the reports of the agents of the Commission.

The fact that the battle had been fought about two hundred and fifty miles from Rolla, the terminus of the railroad, and at a place to be reached only after traversing roads of the very worst possible description, through a half civilized country, without hotels, bridges, or indeed means of conveyance, made the transportation of the wounded to St. Louis impossible. Moreover, the distance of the army from its base of supplies and the deficiency of facilities for transportation, had not allowed the surgeons to provide themselves adequately for such unusual circumstances as they found. As a result the church and every house at Cassville were crowded with the thousand and more Federal wounded; while at Pineville, a few miles away, every house in town and for some miles around was a hospital for the Confederate wounded who had been left in the hands of the Union troops by the retreat of Price.

On the receipt of the news of this battle at St. Louis, the Sanitary Commission worked night and day, and sent off an agent, Mr. Plattenberg, on March 11th. He soon arrived at Rolla, but could not with all his efforts get his stores to the sick and suffering till March 25 — eighteen days after the battle. But his was the first aid to arrive. He "found part of the men on the floor, destitute of all comforts. They had neither bed sacks, blankets, nor sheets, not even tin cups or a tea pot." Some had a little straw under them; a few had blankets or knapsacks for pillows. They "were lying in the clothes they fought in, stiff and dirty with blood and soil. . . . Their sheets had been torn up for bandages." Stimulants, much needed in the absence of anæsthetics, they had none; nor were there even brooms to sweep and mops to wash the rooms. The Confederates at Pineville were even worse off because of the general lack of sanitary supplies in Price's army and also because of the necessary retreat of his whole force. Until the Federal authorities came

to their assistance, the Confederate surgeons in charge had nothing to give the wounded but a little parched corn and water. Mr. Plattenberg supplied the Confederates as fully as he did the Federals.

No sooner was the War well under way than white refugees began to pour into St. Louis from southwestern Missouri and northern Arkansas — all in the most destitute and pitiable condition. True to its mission of relieving suffering wherever found, the Commission at once hired a house and prepared to feed and clothe these destitute families and orphaned children.<sup>14</sup> The work in St. Louis was later extended to the people gathered around Helena and other spots in possession of the Union armies.

Perhaps the first consistent attempt, certainly the first organized attempt, to deal with the suffering freedmen, who crowded out to the banks of the Mississippi in search of the much heralded freedom, was made by the Western Sanitary Commission. Much money, much time, and a great deal of thought and personal endeavor was expended by Mr. Yeatman in trying to devise some scheme to remedy permanently the plight of these helpless black men. The subject is, however, of such extent and importance that it must be reserved for another opportunity. The Commission labored faithfully to elevate and christianize the negroes who enlisted in the army. During the period of drill, while they were at the barracks, teachers were appointed to instruct them in reading, and some three thousand copies of *Sergeant's Standard Primer* were purchased for their use.

If we take into account the fact that the members of the Western Sanitary Commission were private citizens, the efficiency of its work becomes actually astonishing. Three were, indeed, successful merchants; one was a well

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<sup>14</sup> *Report of the Western Sanitary Commission on the White Union Refugees of the South, 1864.*



known physician; and one was a clergyman of more than average ability and of really wonderful personal influence. But they had had no experience at sanitary work. These five men secured permission on September 5 from the military authorities at St. Louis to care for the wounded from the battle of Wilson's Creek, and *five days* later opened a five story hospital capable of accommodating five hundred patients. In those few days not only were beds and bedding provided and alterations of all sorts made in ventilation and in the shape and size of rooms, but baths and diet kitchens were constructed and a corps of surgeons and nurses made ready to receive the wounded. The battle of Pea Ridge was fought on March 8, 1862; the news reached St. Louis next day; and two days later the agent of the Commission started for the front with a great quantity of supplies which had been gathered, packed, and shipped within forty-eight hours to meet an unexpected need.

On April 8, 1862, the news of the battle of Shiloh arrived at St. Louis. The next day the Commission's hospital steamer "City of Louisiana" arrived with three hundred and fifty sick, having left previous to the battle. She was relieved of her wounded, re-provisioned and stocked with supplies in time to return next day, April 10. She was followed in the evening by a temporary boat, the "Empress", fitted out for the occasion, within forty-eight hours, with medical and sanitary stores, surgeons, and nurses. She brought back nine hundred wounded, and was followed by four other steamers, that continued to ply between St. Louis and Pittsburg Landing for weeks. The hospitals at St. Louis were soon overflowing and the Commission at once secured two large halls and furnished them in an incredibly short time with three hundred and twenty beds. In the midst of this labor General Halleck telegraphed from Pittsburg Landing for twenty more surgeons. Nine were sent forward

the same day and others speedily. The Commission was then maintaining fifteen hospitals in St. Louis, affording accommodation for six thousand patients; and during the ten months from July, 1861, to May, 1862, nearly twenty thousand sufferers had been relieved, of whom less than ten per cent had died.<sup>15</sup> The percentage of deaths in the Commission's hospitals was kept unusually low by the efficient nursing and the plentiful supplies of medicines and delicate foods.

The exceedingly effective use which the Commission made of its opportunities seems to have been due in great measures to its lack of definitive organization of any sort. Its agents went into the field to do good wherever opportunity offered and were not required to follow a complicated system of accounting or of vouchers before issuing its stores to surgeons and hospitals. There was, indeed, a very strict accountability between the Commission and its agents, who receipted carefully for all that they received and demanded in return receipts from the hospitals and surgeons to which they were issued.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Bellows, President of the United States Sanitary Commission, was a firm believer in the necessity of a regular routine,<sup>17</sup> which in the long run is certainly indispensable in the conduct of affairs on a large scale. But many times his Commission and the regular medical officers of the army were helpless before a situation which the Western Sanitary Commission handled with ease. None of the agents of the latter waited to make out papers before dispensing their stores. Surgeon G. P. Rex of the 33d Illinois Infantry wrote to the secretary of the Commis-

<sup>15</sup> Up to May 1, 1864, the total number of patients in all hospitals of the Commission was 61,744, of whom 5,684 died, a percentage of 9.1.

<sup>16</sup> These documents were preserved at St. Louis. — Forman's *Western Sanitary Commission*, p. 104.

<sup>17</sup> Speech at Philadelphia, February 24, 1863, printed in pamphlet form for distribution.

sion as follows, concerning the condition of his regiment before Vicksburg:

We had been cut off from our base of supplies for over two weeks, had fought three successful battles, and had entirely exhausted all our medical and hospital stores. Our men were brought from the battle field with their winter clothing on, and in many cases their clothing and woolen blankets were saturated with blood, and covered with fly-blows, and we had no change to give them. We heard that communication was opened with Chickasaw Landing, twelve miles distant, and that a U. S. Government boat was there with supplies. At once, four wagons were sent there, with a request from the officer to send us the supplies that were so urgently needed, and the necessary papers could be executed afterwards. The wagons returned empty and the men were told that nothing would be issued, unless the papers had gone through all the proper channels, and were tied with red tape, which would require several days to accomplish. One of the teamsters remarked to me that he saw the boat of the Western Sanitary Commission coming up the Yazoo river, as they were leaving. Our wagons were sent back, and our situation made known to that noble hearted gentleman, A. W. Plattenburg, agent of the Sanitary Commission, who at once loaded them with every thing necessary for the health and comfort of our wounded soldiers, and in a few hours a great change was seen in the hospital. The clothing was all changed, good beds were provided, nutritious food and proper stimulants prepared. . . . This is only one instance. I could cite many others of similar character.<sup>18</sup>

Certainly no student of the situation can regret that the active hostility of the United States Sanitary Commission and its pretensions to direct all sanitary work in the country were not countenanced by President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, and that the Western Sanitary Commission was left independent.

<sup>18</sup> Forman's *Western Sanitary Commission*, p. 98. See also the *Report of Transactions of the Illinois State Sanitary Bureau*, 1864, pp. 17, 18.

And yet all these hospitals and steamers were brought into commission and kept supplied by the labors of five men whose only office was one small room in a corner of one of the hospitals and whose only staff consisted of the willing hands of friends. For some months the Commission had not even a secretary. None of the members ever received from the Commission a penny for his services; and by acting themselves as inspectors and visitors of hospitals they saved the expense of salaried inspectors. During the first two years of its existence the Commission disbursed money and stores to the total value of more than half a million dollars, and the total expenses of distribution were exactly \$8,848.86 — about one and five-eighths per cent.<sup>19</sup> The total value of money and stores distributed by the Commission during the War for all purposes was estimated at \$4,270,998.55; and the total expenses of administration were at most two per cent.<sup>20</sup> So economical was the treasurer's management that after the War, he was able to announce to the Commission that the interest on the principal at one time and another in his hands had accumulated to the amount of \$40,000. For the management of the fund he never received a dollar's salary, and though he had in his hands at one time \$600,000 and was personally responsible for the whole, he never gave nor was asked to give either security or bond.

Such efficiency, such probity, and such a free expenditure of time and strength, have rarely been equalled anywhere and have seldom been blessed with such results. It is one thing to give money, to preach to thronging churches, and to speak to applauding multitudes; it is quite another thing to perform in person the most menial work for which not even recognition from the community at

<sup>19</sup> *Annual Report of the Commission for 1863.*

<sup>20</sup> *Final Report of the Western Sanitary Commission from May 9, 1864, to December 31, 1865, St. Louis, 1866, p. 145.*

large was obtained. Dr. Eliot, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Yeatman, Mr. Greeley, and Mr. Partridge themselves washed and nursed the sick, packed boxes and barrels, wrote letters for the convalescent, prayed with the dying. The work done by the United States Sanitary Commission and other benevolent bodies during the War was in every sense praiseworthy, but the work of these five men had in it some finer quality than usually inspires charitable work; and they accomplished almost single-handed results which others attained only with the many hands of great and complicated organizations.

Whence came this four and a half millions worth of supplies which these men distributed so efficiently and with such self sacrifice? How was this organization supported? It was maintained entirely by private benefactions secured largely by the personal influence of these men in St. Louis and in Massachusetts. Mr. Yeatman wrote from Boston that Mr. Eliot's name was a key which opened all doors. Other States and cities gave largely,<sup>21</sup> but upon St. Louis and Boston the Commission depended most. Much came unasked; but special appeals were from time to time made in the churches and through the press, and were never made in vain. The immense assistance furnished by the Government should not be forgotten. Transportation of staff and supplies to the field of action was entirely free; rations for the Soldiers Homes and for the freedmen and refugees were furnished by the Commissary Department; and most of the surgeons who made such excellent use of the Commission's supplies in the

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<sup>21</sup> The Annual Reports of 1863 and 1864 give full details. It appears that \$50,000 came from the State of Missouri in 1862, \$25,000 in 1864; \$5,000 from the St. Louis Merchant's Exchange in the spring of 1863; and in December, 1863, a committee of merchants gave \$25,000. The State of California gave \$50,000. The State of Nevada sent fifteen gold and silver bars from which \$45,000 was realized. Outside these amounts, the rest was private benefaction.

field belonged either to the regular or to the volunteer army corps.

Nevertheless the real basis of the Commission's success lay in private benefaction. Some little girls in Newton Center, Massachusetts, held a fair among the children and sent the money to buy mosquito netting and cologne for the western soldiers. Sixteen small boys from a school collected several boxes full of supplies. Mr. Eliot's sister, Mrs. Lamb, a resident of Boston, set aside a room in her house and called it the Missouri Room, to which her friends might send donations. She forwarded from it during the War \$17,000 worth in supplies and as much more in cash.<sup>22</sup> In 1864 the Commission decided to hold a Sanitary Fair in St. Louis. The city had suffered extremely during the early years of the War, not only from the presence of the military but also from the acute business depression. Nevertheless, it had given generously to all the varied needs of the Commission, and some of the members thought that it would be unable to meet a further demand. Others, more sanguine, believed that \$100,000 might be raised. The Fair netted the Commission nearly \$600,000, most of which came from St. Louis and the vicinity.<sup>23</sup>

After all deductions have been made, the fact remains clear to the impartial observer, unblinded by State or professional jealousy, that those five men, sustained by the City of St. Louis, worked mightily for the Lord. It has been my privilege as an historian to study the lives of many great and noble men and women, to kindle while I read the record of many an heroic or unselfish deed, to wonder at the ability, the fortitude, and constancy which have made such deeds possible. But I do not think that I have ever read of anything finer in its quality of true heroism than the quiet, unassuming labors of those men who

<sup>22</sup> Eliot's *Life of William Greenleaf Eliot*, p. 238.

<sup>23</sup> *General Report of the Mississippi Valley Fair*, St. Louis, 1864.

formed the Western Sanitary Commission, and whose labors are threatening to sink, unnoticed and unsung, into oblivion. May I appeal to you, members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, in their behalf, asking not for the awarding of a laurel crown of that meed of praise which should be the hero's true reward, but for simple justice, for mere recognition of the fact that they performed a great work. Let us not demonstrate, by allowing their deeds to fade, the truth of the poet's saying: "the evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones."

## EARLY TRADE AND TRAVEL IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

BY WILLIAM O. SCROGGS

To give anything like a full and accurate picture of the travel and traffic in the lower Mississippi Valley before the nineteenth century is impossible. Traders rarely made records of their goings and comings, and it is only occasionally that we catch glimpses of adventurers threading their way from Virginia through the gaps of the Alleghanies or pushing out from Carolina around the southern foot of the Appalachian range in the direction of the Father of Waters. Mr. Roosevelt in his *Winning of the West* states that "at the outbreak of the Revolution they [the Americans] still all dwelt on the seaboard, either on the coast itself or along the banks of the streams flowing into the Atlantic. When the fight at Lexington took place they had no settlements beyond the mountain chain on our western border. It had taken them over a century and a half to spread from the Atlantic to the Alleghanies."<sup>1</sup> He thus intimates that the line of English settlements did not pass beyond the mountains until after the Colonies had achieved their independence. To this, the traditional view, however, Professor Edward Channing has recently opposed a flat denial by declaring that from 1713 to 1754 "the English occupation of the country from the Gulf to the Ohio and between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi is . . . difficult to trace, but it was none the less effective."<sup>2</sup>

Investigation shows that the Alleghanies did not entirely confine the English to the seaboard before the Rev-

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<sup>1</sup> Edition of 1900, Pt. I, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Channing's *History of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 550.



centre of a flourishing trade with the western Indians.<sup>7</sup>

In 1749 the Loyal Land Company received from the Virginia assembly a grant of 800,000 acres west of the mountains in what is now the State of Kentucky. In the spring of 1750 the company sent Dr. Thomas Walker across the mountains through the Cumberland Gap to explore the grant and note the lands suitable for settlement. This was not Walker's first trip; he had been as far as the Holston River in 1748, and mentions his meeting in that year with a man named Stalnaker on his way to the Cherokee Indians.<sup>8</sup> On his second journey Walker also met with evidences of the white man's movement in this region, in the form of trees blazed and cut with initials.<sup>9</sup> At some point on the upper waters of the Cumberland River Walker built a house, and it is probable that he lived there for a number of years, as the dwelling is indicated on various maps of the period.<sup>10</sup>

Washington in his *Journal*, compiled during his tramp with Gist to the Ohio Valley in 1753, speaks of a Mr. Frazier's, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, on the Monongahela River. He also mentions Gist's new settlement, which, he says, "is west north-west seventy miles from Will's Creek", and states that during his journey he met an Indian trader named Brown and four French deserters on their way to Philadelphia. The face of the white man, then, was not such a rare sight in the western wilderness as has sometimes been supposed. Logan, in his *History of Upper South Carolina*, tells us that in 1758 one Anthony Park traveled several hundred miles

<sup>7</sup> Gist's *Journal* may be found in Johnston's *First Explorations of Kentucky* in the *Filson Club Publications*, No. 13. For an account of his settlement, see Lowdermilk's *History of Cumberland*, p. 28, and Sparks's *Life of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Johnston's *First Explorations of Kentucky*, in the *Filson Club Publications*, No. 13, p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> Johnston's *First Explorations of Kentucky*, in the *Filson Club Publications*, No. 13, p. 54.

<sup>10</sup> *Annals of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 558.



to note that on descending the western slope of the mountain they followed trees which had formerly been blazed, and consequently they were not the first travelers in the region.<sup>5</sup>

There is considerable evidence that by 1750 traders had for years been crossing the Alleghanies. The explorer La Salle, as he descended the Mississippi River in 1682, came to the conclusion that the English were even then crossing the mountains and disposing of their wares to Indians along the river, for he could account in no other way for the numerous articles of European make which he found among the savages. The Frenchman even thought of closing the mountain passes in order to keep the English out of the Mississippi Valley.<sup>6</sup> It was not, however, until 1748 that any concerted effort was made for actual settlement in this region from Virginia. In this year Thomas Lee, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, and others from Virginia and Maryland formed an association known as the Ohio Company and received a grant of a large tract of land between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers, with the object of planting settlements and trading with the Indians. In the following year the company sent out Christopher Gist to explore the country, and he was occupied with this work until 1752. After completing his explorations, Gist was ordered to lay off a town and a fort at Shurtee's Creek on the east of the Ohio, a little below the present Pittsburgh. Gist then settled in the Monongahela Valley near the proposed town and was soon joined by eleven other families. In the meantime the Ohio Company had built a storehouse at Will's Creek (the present Cumberland, Maryland) and a road had been surveyed from this post to the mouth of the Monongahela River. Will's Creek was the

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<sup>5</sup> An account of this expedition is contained in the *Journal of John Fontaine*.

<sup>6</sup> See Winsor's *Mississippi Basin*, p. 48.

centre of a flourishing trade with the western Indians.<sup>7</sup>

In 1749 the Loyal Land Company received from the Virginia assembly a grant of 800,000 acres west of the mountains in what is now the State of Kentucky. In the spring of 1750 the company sent Dr. Thomas Walker across the mountains through the Cumberland Gap to explore the grant and note the lands suitable for settlement. This was not Walker's first trip; he had been as far as the Holston River in 1748, and mentions his meeting in that year with a man named Stalnaker on his way to the Cherokee Indians.<sup>8</sup> On his second journey Walker also met with evidences of the white man's movement in this region, in the form of trees blazed and cut with initials.<sup>9</sup> At some point on the upper waters of the Cumberland River Walker built a house, and it is probable that he lived there for a number of years, as the dwelling is indicated on various maps of the period.<sup>10</sup>

Washington in his *Journal*, compiled during his tramp with Gist to the Ohio Valley in 1753, speaks of a Mr. Frazier's, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, on the Monongahela River. He also mentions Gist's new settlement, which, he says, "is west north-west seventy miles from Will's Creek", and states that during his journey he met an Indian trader named Brown and four French deserters on their way to Philadelphia. The face of the white man, then, was not such a rare sight in the western wilderness as has sometimes been supposed. Logan, in his *History of Upper South Carolina*, tells us that in 1758 one Anthony Park traveled several hundred miles

<sup>7</sup> Gist's Journal may be found in Johnston's *First Explorations of Kentucky* in the *Filson Club Publications*, No. 13. For an account of his settlement, see Lowdermilk's *History of Cumberland*, p. 28, and Sparks's *Life of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Johnston's *First Explorations of Kentucky*, in the *Filson Club Publications*, No. 13, p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> Johnston's *First Explorations of Kentucky*, in the *Filson Club Publications*, No. 13, p. 54.

<sup>10</sup> Channing's *History of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 558.

west of the mountains and found there several white men who had lived among the Indians for twenty years, a few who had been in the region from forty to fifty years, and one who had been there sixty years. There is also a story of a Virginia trader named Daugherty who made his abode among the western Indians for the purposes of traffic as early as 1690.<sup>11</sup>

It was in South Carolina, however, that western trade reached its fullest development. Many of the early Carolina fortunes were gained through this traffic with the Indians, and many of the most prominent men in the Colony were at one time engaged in this business.<sup>12</sup> From Charleston westward to the Mississippi there was an almost level route and a comparatively dense Indian population with which to barter.<sup>13</sup> A map of North America, published by Dr. John Mitchell in 1755, and perhaps the most elaborate and accurate map of the country published during the colonial period, contains the statement that "The English have factories and settlements in all the towns of the Creek Indians of any note, except Alabamas; which was usurped by the French in 1715 but established by the English 28 years before." This of course means that English traders were on the Alabama River as early as 1687; that is, within seventeen years after the founding of Charleston, and fully twelve years before French settlers had landed on the Gulf coast.

In fact, it was the aggressiveness of the English in pushing out toward the Southwest that caused Louis XIV to renew the efforts at colonizing the lower Missis-

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<sup>11</sup> Logan's *History of Upper South Carolina*, p. 168.

<sup>12</sup> McCrady's *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, pp. 345-347, and *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, p. 270.

<sup>13</sup> Descriptions of the traders' trails to the Southwest may be found in Logan's *History of Upper South Carolina* and in a monograph by Peter J. Hamilton in the *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society*, Vol. II, p. 41. An interesting description at first hand of these routes as they appeared in 1776 is given by William Bartram in his *Travels*, p. 306.

issippi Valley, which had been so suddenly interrupted by the death of La Salle.<sup>14</sup> Two years before the sailing of Iberville, Rémonville, in a memoir addressed to Count de Pontchartrain, called attention to the English designs on the Mississippi, knowledge of which he had obtained from merchants trading with England.<sup>15</sup> At the very moment when Iberville was exploring the lower Mississippi, Edward Randolph, that much-hated emissary of the English government, while at Charleston wrote to the Lords of Trade, under the date of March 16, 1699, that he had talked with a member of the Governor's Council, a great Indian trader, who had been six hundred miles west of Charleston, and who was willing to undertake the exploration of the Mississippi and to "find out the mouth and the true latitude thereof", "if his Majesty will please to pay the charge, w<sup>ch</sup> will not be above £400 or £500 at most".<sup>16</sup> Six days later, in another letter, he mentions the fact that Colonel James Moore had crossed the "Apalathean" mountains for inland discovery and the Indian trade. The news that a French expedition was headed for the Mississippi had already reached Charleston, he said, and had created much uneasiness among the Carolinians.<sup>17</sup>

Mitchell's map, referred to above, gives the route of a certain Colonel Welch to the Mississippi in 1698 and says that it was afterwards followed by other traders. This claim, that the English had reached the Mississippi

<sup>14</sup> "Seule une prompte intervention de la France pouvait empêcher l'Angleterre de s'appropriier tout le fruit des découvertes de La Salle." — Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. xxviii.

<sup>15</sup> French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (new series, 1869), pp. 1-10. Further indication of French anxiety as to the designs of the English upon the Mississippi is discovered in a letter of the Minister of Marine, Aug. 27, 1698. — See Margry's *Mémoires et Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 82.

<sup>16</sup> Rivers's *South Carolina*, App., p. 445.

<sup>17</sup> *Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina*, Vol. I, p. 208.

from Carolina before the French had made their settlements on the Gulf, may be verified from French sources. In May, 1699, Bienville found the natives in a village on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain greatly disturbed because two days before they had been attacked by a party of Chickasaws led by two white men calling themselves *Englichi*.<sup>18</sup> These were evidently Carolina traders. Some months later Bienville reports that "several Englishmen from Carolina are among the Chickasaws, where they trade in peltry and slaves". He says that these traders ascend a river to its headwaters and from there transport their goods by horses to the Chickasaw villages. It is his purpose, he says, to capture the traders by drawing them away from the Chickasaws on the pretext of commerce, but that he would not dare interfere with them in the presence of these Indians, who might thereby lose their friendship for the French.<sup>19</sup>

In this same year Le Sueur and Penicaut went up the Mississippi prospecting for minerals, and on the Arkansas River, eight leagues above its mouth, they found an English trader, who, says Penicaut, "gave us much assistance with his provisions, as our supply was nearly exhausted."<sup>20</sup> Le Sueur asked the trader who sent him there; he replied that he was sent by the Governor of Carolina, and showed the Frenchmen a passport from that official, who, he said, was the master of the river.<sup>21</sup> French sources, therefore, seem to verify the statement of John Archdale, Governor of Carolina from 1694 to 1696, that "Charlestown trades near one thousand miles into the continent."<sup>22</sup>

The fear of the French that the English would reap

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<sup>18</sup> La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>19</sup> Margry's *Mémoires et Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 361.

<sup>20</sup> French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New series, 1869), p. 63.

<sup>21</sup> Margry's *Mémoires et Documents*, Vol. V, p. 402.

<sup>22</sup> Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 97.

the fruits of La Salle's discovery was not groundless; they not only found English traders among the natives, but in September, 1699, Bienville actually met an English frigate in the Mississippi River, twenty-eight leagues above its mouth, at a point, which, from the fact that the ship turned back, is called the English Turn, or Bend, to this day.<sup>23</sup> According to La Harpe, it was the enterprise of the English on the Mississippi that led Iberville to establish his post on this river in 1700.<sup>24</sup>

It was in the English traders that French Colonial schemes in the lower Mississippi Valley encountered an insurmountable obstacle. Sometimes by presents, sometimes by threats, and more particularly by the abundance, quality, and cheapness of their merchandise, adventurers from Carolina and Virginia kept the greater part of the savages friendly to themselves and consequently more or less hostile to the French, and thus accomplished in the South results similar to those achieved by the British with the Iroquois in the North. In the Southern debatable land there were four great tribes or nations. The northernmost, and the most civilized, were the Cherokees, occupying mainly the territory included in the present State of Tennessee; below them, between the Mississippi and Tombigbee rivers, and as far south as the Yazoo, lived the Chickasaws, reputed to be unusually brave and warlike. The Chickasaws had for their neighbors the Creeks on the east and the Choctaws on the south. The French seem to have had no difficulty in winning the Choctaws over to their side, and for a time they also counted the Chickasaws among their friends.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Margry's *Mémoires et Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 361; La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, pp. 19, 20; French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New series, 1869), p. 59. These various accounts differ in details, but all agree that the Englishman turned back and left the French in possession of the river.

<sup>24</sup> La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, p. 80.

But if we may believe French accounts it was not long before English traders set these two nations against each other, with the result that the Chickasaws became favorable to the English, while the Choctaws, as a rule, remained the friends of the French as long as the latter held the country. Penicaut and La Harpe tell us that the ill-feeling between Choctaws and Chickasaws began in 1705, when the latter sold to English traders as slaves several Choctaw families that were visiting them; and if this statement is correct the traders committed a blunder very similar in its ultimate results to that committed by Champlain in the North a century before.<sup>26</sup>

Whatever was the real cause of the Choctaw animosity, it is certain that the English could gain admission into the villages of this nation only at rare intervals, while at the same time they possessed the friendship of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and, to a less degree, of the Creeks. After 1706 the English seem to have exerted every effort to gain the good will of the Choctaws, being lavish in promises and presents, and Bienville had to work hard to retain their loyalty. The French were especially concerned with regard to the Choctaws during Queen Anne's War, when there were rumors of preparations for an English attack on Mobile and of intrigues with the Choctaws for active aid or at least for permission to pass through their country.<sup>27</sup> These Indians, however, remained true to the French, and Louisiana came through the war unscathed, although the English could have taken it at any time. For some time before the close of this war the aggressiveness of the Carolinians in the Southwest was checked by a rising of the Tuscaroras and neighboring tribes; but with the return of peace the routes to the interior were again clear, and the English

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<sup>26</sup> French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New series, 1869), p. 97; La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, pp. 89-95.

<sup>27</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. liii.



traders resumed their efforts to win all the natives. They set up factories among the Chickasaws, set the Natchez and the Illinois to fighting against each other, so as to purchase their captives as slaves, and even entered the territory of the Alibamons (a portion of the Creek nation), where the French had just erected Fort Toulouse. Even the Choctaws finally yielded to their blandishments and admitted the English into some of their villages; and the traders, when ordered by Cadillac to leave, sent back word that they were not afraid of him and his forty or fifty French knaves. In despair the Governor declared that he preferred open war to a peace so full of treachery.<sup>28</sup>

The English conquest, which Louisiana had escaped during the war, seemed now on the point of being accomplished in time of peace. The activity of the traders was, indeed, remarkable. In 1714 Penicaut made a trip to the Natchez country and was greatly astonished to find there three Englishmen, who, he says, had come to buy slaves.<sup>29</sup> La Harpe also says that there were at this time a dozen Englishmen among the Choctaws.<sup>30</sup> In 1715 Bienville wrote to Pontchartrain that three English officers were among the Choctaws with a large body of other Indians, and that they were bent on destroying villages which persisted in their loyalty to the French. Later he declared that there was a rumor upon the upper Mississippi that the Governor of Carolina was distributing presents among the savages to induce them to break French heads at Mo-

<sup>28</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. lxi.

<sup>29</sup> Margry's *Mémoires et Documents*, Vol. V, p. 505; French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New series, 1869), pp. 123-126; La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, pp. 115-118. These accounts contain a very interesting story of the pursuit down the Mississippi and the final capture of one of these Englishmen, whom Penicaut calls "Mylord Master You."

<sup>30</sup> La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, p. 115.

bile.<sup>31</sup> We are told that in this year Bienville took measures to break up the English trade on the Mississippi, and that he heard of massacres of English traders;<sup>32</sup> but how far his actions were responsible for the massacres cannot be determined. It is probable that the massacres referred to had some connection with the great Indian revolt known in Carolina as the Yamasee War, which began in April, 1715. English aggressiveness was then at its height from the Lakes to the Gulf. The traders, intoxicated by their success, began to cheat, seize property for pretended debts, and charge exorbitant prices. Their brutality aroused the deepest resentment among the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Yamasees, and other tribes; Spanish intrigue in Florida, and perhaps to some extent French influence in Louisiana also, fanned the flame. The English traders scattered among these various tribes were put to death, often with great torture; Carolina was overrun by savages, and its population took refuge in Charleston.<sup>33</sup>

The Indian uprising, coming at so opportune a moment for preventing the English conquest of Louisiana, served to cast a suspicion upon the French of having aided and abetted the movement; but whatever may have been their desire, the Louisiana colonists were in no condition to give any really effective aid to the savages.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, pp. lxxix, lxx.

<sup>32</sup> French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New series, 1869), p. 129.

<sup>33</sup> McCrady's *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, p. 353; Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. lxxi.

<sup>34</sup> It is a fact worthy of note, however, that the French traders did not incur the resentment of the savages during these troubles. In one of the Chickasaw villages, for instance, there were fifteen English traders and a Frenchman occupying the same cabin. The Indians suddenly rose and slew the English, but their chief ordered the Frenchman to stand at his side and fear nothing. Shortly afterwards, however, two young warriors mistook the white man for an Englishman and slew him, "to the great regret of the whole nation." — La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, p. 120.

The insurrection had two results. The French, profiting as much as possible by the troubles of the Carolinians, sought to clear the Mississippi of the English, and in 1716 built Fort Rosalie at the site of the present Natchez. The Carolina proprietors, at the same time, perceiving the necessity of a more effective control over both Indians and traders, and tempted also by the enormous profits of the trade, had an act passed in 1716 giving the proprietary government the entire control of the traffic, which thus became a public monopoly. The trade had previously been conducted by private enterprise. In 1719, however, owing to complaints from the London merchants of the monopolistic nature of the trade, the act was repealed.<sup>35</sup> About 1717, with the return of peace and quiet in Carolina, the western routes were reopened and Louisiana was again menaced with English invasion.

L'Épinay, the new Governor, knowing nothing of the Indian character, had disappointed the savages by not distributing the usual presents, and the English were not slow to take advantage of this blunder. The Indian chiefs grumbled mightily at L'Épinay's niggardliness, and called him such things as an old woman who never went from home and a mangy dog sent over by the great French chief because he was dying of hunger in his own village.<sup>36</sup> At this time Sir Robert Montgomery received a grant of a portion of Carolina south of the Savannah River, to be known as Azilia, and had settlements been planted in this region as contemplated, Louisiana would have been further endangered. Fortunately for the French, however, Carolina was again disturbed by Indian troubles, followed by a revolution which overthrew the proprietary government, and the colony was consequently too busily

<sup>35</sup> Logan's *History of Upper South Carolina*, ch. X; McCrady's *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, p. 629.

<sup>36</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 142.

absorbed with domestic affairs to maintain its aggressive policy toward its western neighbor.

The fear of the French on the Mississippi was given as one of the reasons why the people of Carolina desired to be under the protection of the British Crown; and whether this fear was real or feigned, the colonists by various means made such an impression upon the Lords of Trade that they instructed Francis Nicholson, the first royal Governor, to make special efforts to regain the friendship of the Indians. Accordingly, with the establishment of royal government in Carolina, we find the English more aggressive in the Southwest than ever before.<sup>37</sup> Unlicensed persons were prohibited from trading with the Indians.<sup>38</sup> The Cherokees and the Creeks were each summoned to a great council, at which Governor Nicholson made them presents, marked the boundaries of their lands, regulated weights and measures, appointed an agent to look after the affairs of each nation, and had both to choose a head chief to deal directly with the Governor.<sup>39</sup> In 1730 Sir Alexander Cuming arrived in South Carolina, and at a great meeting of the Cherokee chiefs secured an acknowledgment of their allegiance to the British Crown. Later he carried seven of the chiefs to London, where a treaty was drawn up stipulating that the great king had ordered his children in Carolina to "trade with the Indians, and furnish them with all manner of goods they want, and to make haste to build houses and plant corn from Charlestown, towards the towns of the Cherokees behind the great mountains." The Cherokees, on their part, were to "take care to keep the trading path clean, that there be no blood on the path where the English tread, even though they should be accompa-

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<sup>37</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 152.

<sup>38</sup> McCrady's *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, p. 38.

<sup>39</sup> Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, Vol. I, pp. 258, 272, 278.

nied with other people with whom the Cherokees may be at war: That the Cherokees shall not suffer their people to trade with any other nation but the English, nor permit white men of any other nation to build any forts or cabins, or plant any corn among them." The Indians also agreed to return the fugitive slaves of the planters, and for every slave returned were to receive a reward in the form of a gun and a watch coat.<sup>40</sup>

The renewed activity of the English in the Southwest was noted by Charlevoix on his journey down the Mississippi in 1721. He declares that the Chickasaws are angered at the French for allying themselves with the Illinois, and that the English of Carolina are striving to increase the resentment. Two Frenchmen following Charlevoix were slain by Chickasaws as soon as they left the Illinois country.<sup>41</sup> On reaching Biloxi in 1722 he hears of an English interloper there named Marshall, who had considerable dealings with the French; and during his stay there a Choctaw chief came to Bienville and declared that the English were making his people great promises and trying to induce them to have no more trade with the French.<sup>42</sup>

While the English were thus making headway, the French were almost idle. In 1712 Crozat had received a monopoly of the trade of Louisiana; in 1717 practically the same privileges were conferred upon the Company of the West, which two years later was transformed into the Company of the Indies. The trade with the Indians was entirely in the hands of the company, which fixed arbitrarily the prices at which its goods were to be sold and the prices to be paid for the furs of the natives. Carolina traders, unfettered by such restrictions, could

<sup>40</sup> Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, Vol. I, p. 278.

<sup>41</sup> Charlevoix's *Journal d'un Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. III, p. 257.

<sup>42</sup> Charlevoix's *Journal d'un Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. III, p. 483.

easily undersell their competitors. The personal qualities of the French should undoubtedly have given them an advantage in bartering with the natives; the savage was as much attracted by the affability and adaptability of the Frenchman as he was repelled by the *hauteur* of the Briton.<sup>43</sup> But in the long run, as a means of gaining the friendship of the aborigines, French manners proved far less effective than English merchandise. Under the régime of the Company of the Indies the French officials were continually hampered by a dearth of goods, and much of the stock sent by the company was so old that the savages did not care for it.<sup>44</sup> The Lords of Trade in 1721 declared that the French could never compete with the English in furnishing the Indians with European commodities at honest and reasonable prices,<sup>45</sup> and Charlevoix himself at the same time stated that the English

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<sup>43</sup> The Lords of Trade, in a memorial to the king in 1721, called attention to the great advantage which the French in America possessed through their intermarriage with the natives, "whereby their new Empire may be peopled without draining France of its inhabitants", and recommended that the British colonial Governors should be instructed to encourage such intermarriage in their provinces! — See *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. V, p. 626.

The French seem to have been fully aware of their personal advantage over the English in dealing with the natives. Charlevoix in his *Journal d'un Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. III, p. 80, says: "Les Anglois Américains ne veulent point de Guerre, parce qu'ils ont beaucoup à perdre; ils ne ménagent point les Sauvages parce qu'ils ne croient en avoir besoin. La Jeunesse Française, par des raisons contraires, déteste la Paix, et vit bien avec les Naturels du Pays, dont elle s'attire aisément l'estime pendant la Guerre, et l'amitié en tout tems."

Baudry des Lozières, in his *Second Voyage à la Louisiane*, Vol. I, p. 397, says: "J'ai dit que les sauvages ont un penchant naturel pour les Français, et je le tiens d'eux-mêmes j'ai même entendu dire à ceux qui ont des relations commerciales avec les North-Américains, qu'ils y tenaient ainsi aux Anglais, sous le seul point de vue d'intérêt."

<sup>44</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 208.

<sup>45</sup> *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. V, p. 626.

were selling the savages goods cheaper than were the French."<sup>46</sup>

Governor Spotswood of Virginia wrote in 1719 that the Indians with whom the English traded "have hitherto been kept in our interest by being more plentifully supplied with goods than the French could afford them",<sup>47</sup> and in the following year we find the Alibamons complaining that the French do not pay them as much for their peltry as they receive from Carolina traders, and also that French goods are sold to them at an advance over English prices.<sup>48</sup> In the middle of the eighteenth century Governor Glen of South Carolina declared that the tranquillity of his province depended on the retention of the Indians in the British interest, and that this would be impossible without a continuation of traffic with them in the articles for which there was the greatest demand — "both arms and amunition, as well as Cloaths and other necessaries."<sup>49</sup>

English traders, therefore, gained to their side all the great tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley except the Choctaws; and the latter were frequently so wavering in their allegiance to the French as to become to them a source of great anxiety. As their general defection would have meant ruin to the Colony, Bienville, in order to keep them loyal, once or twice found it necessary to foment a war between them and those stanch friends of the English, the Chickasaws.<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately, Bienville was recalled to France just when his services were most

<sup>46</sup> Charlevoix's *Journal d'un Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. III, p. 257.

<sup>47</sup> *Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood*, Vol. II, p. 331 (*Collections of the Virginia Historical Society*, Vol. II).

<sup>48</sup> La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, p. 228.

<sup>49</sup> Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, Vol. II, pp. 245, 246.

<sup>50</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, pp. 152, 163, 164.



needed, as he alone of the French officials seemed capable of counteracting English influences. The Company of the Indies pursued a niggardly policy; presents for the Indians and soldiers for the forts cost money, and it was cheaper to send missionaries, who were indeed the keenest rivals of the British trader.<sup>51</sup> While the English were most aggressive, French depots were empty, and Périer called in vain for goods. When he asked for troops to strike a sudden blow and intimidate the English and their allies, he was accused of seeking to enhance his own reputation at the expense of the Company.<sup>52</sup>

Who then, during this period, were the real masters of the lower Mississippi Valley? According to good modern French authority, the English traders in 1728 had almost reached the point where with a word they could have turned nearly the whole Indian population against the French.<sup>53</sup> In Louisiana, indeed, there were forts and soldiers and towns, so that technically the Company of the Indies held possession of the territory for France; but an examination of the character of these forts, garrisons, and settlements shows that the Company's hold upon its vast domain was pitifully weak. All of the forts were unfinished; the guns were unmounted; and the pieces were sometimes of one calibre and the balls of another. The soldiers were fit inmates of such posts.

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<sup>51</sup> One of these missionaries, the Jesuit De Guyenne, went as far east in the direction of the English settlements in 1726 as the Chattahoochee River, and built a cabin in the Indian village of Coweta, within the limits of the present State of Georgia. Later the English showed their fear of his influence by persuading the Indians to burn his cabin and drive him back to Toulouse. — See Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, p. 158.

There is also evidence of French attempts to extend their influence into Georgia as late as 1750, when one Daniel Clark, a trader, reported that on reaching "Cowetaw Town" he found the French colors set up in the square and the whole town "taken up in entertaining" officers and soldiers from Fort Toulouse. — See *Georgia Colonial Records*, Vol. VI, p. 341.

<sup>52</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 227.

<sup>53</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 225.



Few in numbers, poorly armed, almost naked, usually fed on scant rations of rice and maize, quartered in miserable huts covered with bark, sleeping on the damp ground and thereby becoming afflicted with various distempers, they soon lost what little capacity for military service they once might have had. Desertions were frequent, the Carolina settlements offering a safe retreat.<sup>54</sup> To cap the climax, the Natchez Indians, always more or less troublesome, rose in revolt in November, 1729, and wiped out the settlement at Fort Rosalie, one of the most prosperous in the Colony. The French planned a summary vengeance, but were never able fully to carry it out. Most of the Natchez finally took refuge among the enemies of France, the Chickasaws; and the failure of the French to exact full reparation lost them the respect of many of their Indian allies. The Natchez massacre was followed by a severe drought, which almost destroyed the crops. The Company was discouraged, and its colonists all seemed animated with one single desire — to get out of the country.

On the English side at this time there was unusual prosperity.<sup>55</sup> In October, 1729, there were said to have been one hundred and twenty packhorses with English goods among the Choctaws alone, and in the following year was negotiated the important treaty of alliance with

<sup>54</sup> In 1721 the entire garrison at Fort Toulouse mutinied on account of lack of food and with arms and baggage took the road to Carolina. One of the officers escaped to the Indians, and with their aid ambushed the mutineers and killed or captured the whole party. — La Harpe's *Journal Historique*, pp. 261, 348.

<sup>55</sup> The years 1721-1743 were the most prosperous period for the trade in peltry. In 1748 the value of beaver and deer-skins exported from Charleston amounted to about \$300,000 of our present money, and up to this time only one other Carolina export (rice) had exceeded the value of the skins sent to Europe. — See Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 234; McCrady's *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, pp. 345, 346; and McCrady's *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, p. 270.

the Cherokees, already described. Between the spiritless colonists of Louisiana and the traders from Carolina there was a striking contrast. The latter cleared no fields, sowed no crops, and built no towns in the lower Mississippi Valley; but their supplies of gew-gaws, firearms, and fire water won them the favor of the savage, and their physical prowess and expert markmanship inspired his respect. The trader was often something more than a mere higgler; frequently he was a man of superior intelligence. Unlike the English settler, who usually regarded the Indian as a pest to be exterminated as soon as possible, and whose advent often filled the savage with dismay, because it meant the restriction of his hunting-grounds, the trader was welcomed by the natives; for his arrival meant the satisfaction of their primitive wants.

The predominating influence of the English over the native population in this region before 1755 was due mainly to the activity of the trader, but it was perhaps enhanced by the lack of land-hungry Anglo-Saxon pioneers. It should be borne in mind, however, that the presence of the trader among the aborigines was by no means an unmixed blessing; in fact, he was everywhere the source of debauching and demoralizing influence. The Indian acquired from him all the vices and none of the virtues of the white man, and suffered as much injury from the pampering of the trafficker as he did later from the crowding of the settler.

In January, 1731, the Company of the Indies came to the conclusion that its policy in Louisiana had been a failure and surrendered its holdings to the French Crown. The royal government at once set itself to work to improve matters in the Colony and sent over soldiers and supplies; but the Company's policy had given Louisiana such a bad name at home that it was for a long time a difficult matter to induce colonists to emigrate. In the

meantime English influence in the Southwest had been greatly strengthened through the founding of Georgia and the treaties made by Oglethorpe with the western Indians. In July, 1732, to the great joy of the colonists, Bienville was again made Governor of Louisiana, and in December he sailed with supplies and soldiers, and with instructions to expel the Chickasaws from French territory, to regain the good will of the Choctaws, and to prevent all trade between the Indians and outsiders. He was instructed to check English encroachments by peaceful measures, such as the resumption of trade and the despatching of interpreters to the principal posts.<sup>56</sup> Bienville's slender resources, however, were entirely inadequate for the great work confronting him. There was no cessation in the activity of the English; on the contrary, while the province of Louisiana was languishing, Virginia and Carolina were receiving constant accessions of immigrants, who pushed farther and farther into the western woods.

The new Governor finally perceived that there could be no hope of peace in Louisiana until he drove out or subdued the troublesome Chickasaws, and that a prompt and decisive blow was needed to regain even the respect of the copper-hued allies of the French. In 1736, therefore, he organized an expedition against the Chickasaws, and advanced beyond Tombecbe, where he found the enemy strongly fortified in several villages. Over one of these the English colors were flying, and English traders were also seen preparing the savages to meet the attack.<sup>57</sup> It requires no wild flight of the imagination to see in these intrigues and hostilities in the southern forests the preliminaries of the great struggle for a continent which began twenty years later. Bienville's war on the Chickasaws was a miserable failure, and though a peace

<sup>56</sup> Heinrich's *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, pp. 276, 277.

<sup>57</sup> Baudry des Lozières's *Voyage à la Louisiane*, pp. 60, 61.

was patched up with them in 1740 they continued their depredations. The rivalry for the mastery of the southern back country continued until England and France resolved to decide the question by the wager of battle.

In the long struggle that followed Louisiana remained in constant dread of an English attack which never came. The very weakness of the Colony was to it perhaps a source of protection; for the energies of the English were devoted to the reduction of the more menacing French establishments in the North. Nevertheless, when the treaty of peace was signed in Paris, in 1763, the region from the Ohio to the Gulf and between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi came into the possession of that people who had already controlled it in a commercial way for half a century. But the country was not to be definitely won without a struggle with the natives. French intrigue and English blunders during the war precipitated an uprising of the Creeks and Cherokees which it required two years to subdue.<sup>58</sup> Even after the treaty of peace an English officer who spent some time among the Cherokees declared that he found them still in sympathy with the French and reconciled to the rule of the English only through the advantages of their trade.<sup>59</sup>

In view of the fact that English influence in the lower Mississippi Valley was for such a long period in the ascendant, the question naturally arises why the southern English colonists did not follow the example of their brothers in New England and attempt to complete the conquest of French territory during Queen Anne's and King George's wars. The answer may be given, I think, in a few words. The southern Colonies were never menaced by the feeble settlements in Louisiana as were their northern neighbors by the feudal military organization

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<sup>58</sup> McCrady's *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, pp. 302-304.

<sup>59</sup> Winsor's *Mississippi Basin*, pp. 411, 412.

of New France. It was the Spaniard in Florida rather than the Frenchman in Louisiana whom the Georgians and Carolinians dreaded. Again, the Indians with whom the French in the South intrigued were milder than those in the North, and their incursions were not so greatly feared. Lastly, the religious fanaticism — the hatred of English Puritan for French Catholic — so manifest in New England, was lacking in the South.

The general feeling of the southern colonists toward their neighbors in the West seems to have been well expressed by Governor Glen, when he wrote: "If ever the French settlements on the Mississippi grow great, they may have pernicious effects upon South Carolina, because they produce the same kind of commodities as are produced there, viz.: Rice and Indigo; but hitherto the only inconvenience that I know of is their attempting to withdraw our Indians from us, and attacking those who are most attached to our interest. . . . It is easy for me at present to divert the French in their own way, and to find them business for double the number of men they have in that country."<sup>80</sup> From a military invasion of Louisiana, even if it had been entirely practicable, the southern colonists would have had nothing to gain; a commercial conquest they had already achieved.

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<sup>80</sup> Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 247.

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